DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 301 687 CE 051 451

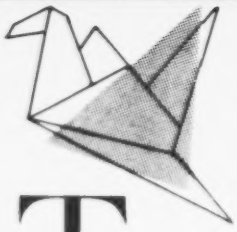
AUTHOR Rydstrom, Gunnar, Comp.
TITLE Adult Education Development and International Aid. Some Issues and Trends.
INSTITUTION International Council for Adult Education, Toronto (Ontario).
REPORT NO ISBN-91-7328-612-5
PUB DATE 87
NOTE 99p.; Final Report of the International Seminar on "The Role of International Aid in Adult Education in Developing Countries" (Kungalv, Sweden, June 1986).
AVAILABLE FROM International Council for Adult Education, 720 Bathurst Street, Suite 500, Toronto M5S 2R4, Ontario, Canada ($10.00).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; Adult Educators; *Adult Programs; *Community Education; Developed Nations; *Developing Nations; *Educational Finance; Foreign Countries; Job Training; Nonschool Educational Programs; Postsecondary Education; *Program Development; Public Agencies; Skill Development; Teacher Education; Trainers; Training Methods
IDENTIFIERS Africa; Asia; Caribbean; *International Council for Adult Education; Latin America

ABSTRACT

This document reports, in narrative format, the proceedings of a conference in Sweden attended by more than 40 adult educators from around the world to discuss aid to education in developing nations. The report describes the conference's two main objectives: (1) to exchange experiences about financing and supporting adult education in the developing countries between the donors, on the one hand, and between the donors and beneficiaries on the other; and (2) to enable those responsible for decision making in both industrialized and developing countries to make tangible improvements in the substance and methods of international cooperation for adult education. Three kinds of papers were presented at the conference: working papers, presentations of international agencies, and regional panels from various areas of the world. The papers revolved around the following themes, according to this report: development, adult education practices, empowerment in action, NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), the roles we play, donors, the intermediaries, African panel, Asian panel, Latin American panel, Caribbean panel, group work, the business of evaluation, false contradictions, from projects to programs, and the future. A list of participants is included in the report. (KC)

ED301687



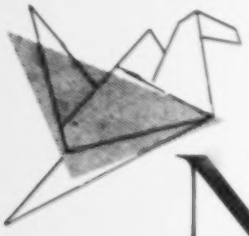
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

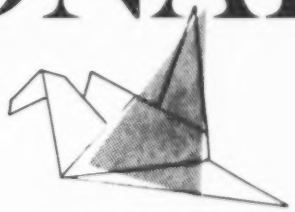
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

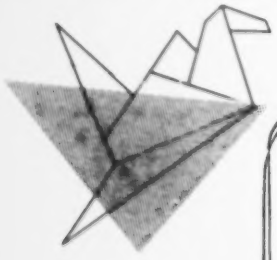
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

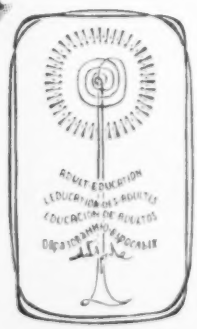
ADULT EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT *and* INTER-NATIONAL AID





Some Issues and Trends





International Council for Adult Education
Conseil International d'Education des Adultes
Consejo Internacional de Educación de Adultos
المجلس العالمي لتعليم الكبار

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
International Council for Adult Education
5 Vander Voet
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CE051451

Adult Education Development and International Aid

Some Issues and Trends

Final Report of the International Seminar on
"The Role of International Aid in Adult Education
in Developing Countries"
held in Kungälv, Sweden, June 1986

Compiled by Gunnar Rydström

International Council for Adult Education

ICAE
720 Bathurst Street
Suite 500
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2R4 Canada

© International Council for Adult Education 1987
Phototypesetting in 10 and 12 point Baskerville by
ord. Stockholm, Sweden
Printed in Sweden by Författares Bokmaskin, Stockholm
Cover design by Gunnar Erkner, Arnäsvall
Photos: Gunnar Rydström, Kramfors

ISBN 91 7328 612 5

Preface

The Ongoing Debate

Starting with "Adult Education and Development" as the theme of its first international conference, held in Tanzania in 1976, the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) has consistently contributed to the critical debate about the meaning and forms of development as perceived by adult educators, non-governmental organizations and aid agencies, through seminars and studies that focus on the clarification of these meanings and forms.

The debate has included such questions as the role that adult education and NGOs can play in the development process; the need for closer collaboration and mutual support among all the development "actors" on issues and practices to support a more human-centred development; and the degree to which funding agencies realize that technical solutions and measures of national economic growth of the GNP kind are insufficient to meet such crucial issues as the alleviation of mass poverty and improvement in the quality of life (economically, socially and politically) for the poorest sectors of society.

To sharpen the debate in terms of the sharing of experiences between donor agencies from the North and beneficiaris from the South, in June 1986, ICAE convened an international seminar on "The Role of International Aid in Adult Education in Developing Countries", in collaboration with the National Swedish Federation of Adult Education Organizations (Folkbildningsförbundet).

The four-day seminar, held at the Nordic Folk Academy in Kungälv, Sweden, was organized to enable those responsible for decision-making in both industrialized and developing countries to make tangible improvements in the substance and methods of international cooperation for adult education. The participants were 40 women and men from 21 countries, including representatives of major development assistance agencies, and UNESCO, adult educators from NGOs in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, as well as delegates from some national government departments concerned with adult education.

The seminar was developed as a further stage in the previous

work of ICAE on issues of adult education, development and international aid, which includes the following:

* *International Seminar on Adult Education and Development*, held June 1979 in Kungälv, Sweden, as an informal three-day dialogue among adult educators and international development assistance agencies to foster closer collaboration and new linkages.
* *Working Session on Adult Education, International Aid and Poverty*, held in Washington, DC, June 1980, resulted in the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry into Adult Education and Poverty that also includes consideration of the role and impact of international aid. Coordinated by Chris Duke, its major work has been the generation and analysis of seven case studies, commissioned by World Bank, and published in 1985 under the title of "Combatting Poverty Through Adult Education: National Development Strategies".
* "*Towards an Authentic Development: The Role of Adult Education*" was the subject of ICAE's second international conference, held in Paris, October 1982.
* *International Seminar on Co-operating for Literacy* in collaboration with the German Foundation for International Development, and held in Berlin, October 1983, brought together 72 people from 31 countries, including representatives of major development agencies and adult educators and NGOs from developing countries.
* *The World Assembly of Adult Education*, the third ICAE international conference, held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in November 1985, focused on the contribution of popular education to its theme of "Adult Education and Peace".

The various questions and issues inherent in any examination of the role of internaional aid in adult education are rich and complex, and, at times controversial. By its very nature, the subject will continue to be one of ongoing and lively debate. There is an obvious need to undertake and exchange further reflection and analysis with the purpose of creating a more effective, meaningful and productive international cooperation for the role of adult education in development.

Yusuf Kassam
Director of Programmes
International Council for Adult Education

Contents

Preface 3
Introduction 6
Development 10
Adult Education Practices 16
Empowerment in Action 26
NGOs 30
The Roles We Play 37
Donors 40
The Intermediaries 46
Whisky and Whiskers 58
African Panel 60
Asian Panel 63
Latin American Panel 68
Caribbean Panel 72
Group Work 74
The Business of Evaluation 79
False Contradictions 83
From Projects to Programmes 85
Where Do We Go From Here? 92
List of Participants 95

Introduction

Why do more than 40 adult educators from all over the world, all of them eminent practitioners in the field, gather in a place like Kungälv? This is a small town on the west coast of Sweden, in the middle ages an important regional centre with a formidable fort, today not very much more than a dormitory suburb of the city of Gothenburg, with the manufacture of biscuits as the only major industrial activity.

Because the Nordic Folk Academy is situated here. This is in itself a splendid example of international cooperation in the field of adult education, a place that could encourage a sense of relaxed interaction and informal conversation among equals. Because this conference was the first of its kind, bringing together donor agencies, national adult education associations of industrial countries (notably the Nordic countries), and Third World adult educators who have been recipients of international assistance, both in the form of finances and human resources.

The Nordic Folk Academy of Kungälv was not however the organiser of the conference, it was but the venue. It had been initiated and coordinated by the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) in Toronto, Canada, and organised in such a way that the question: "Who owns this conference?", would not arise.

The ICAE sent a letter to a great many donor agencies, asking them if they were interested in getting together to talk about the role of international aid in adult education. When they said yes, they were asked if they would support Third World participation. Most donors answered yes, they would. Finally the financing of various Third World participants, coming from both governments and NGOs, was divided up amongst them. This meant that everybody taking part had a stake in the conference, a responsibility to make it a worthwhile undertaking, and also bring to the attention of other people that such an event is taking place. To quote Budd Hall, the Secretary-General of the ICAE, at the beginning of the conference: "We are here in a neutral space as equals to talk about complex and complicated ideas."

The conference had two main objectives:

6

* To exchange experiences about financing and supporting adult education in the developing countries between the donors on the one hand, and between the donors and beneficiaries on the other.
* To enable those responsible for decision-making in both industrialized and developing countries to make tangible improvements in the substance and methods of international cooperation for adult education.

These were dealt with in a comprehensive programme of plenary sessions (presentation of papers and regional panels) and work in discussion groups. There were roughly three kinds of papers:

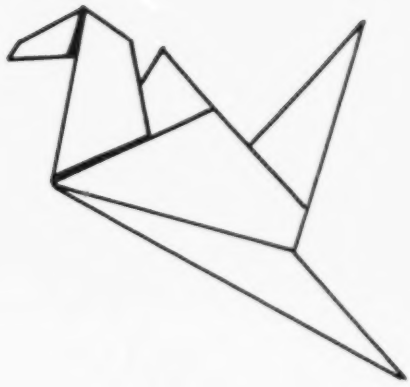
1. Working papers, cutting across the whole range of international cooperation in adult education.
2. Presentations of international agencies such as UNESCO, national governmental agencies such as CIDA, DANIDA, FINNIDA, NORAD and SIDA, and non-governmental funding agencies like DSE, DVV, HIVOS, NOVIB.
3. Regional panels from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

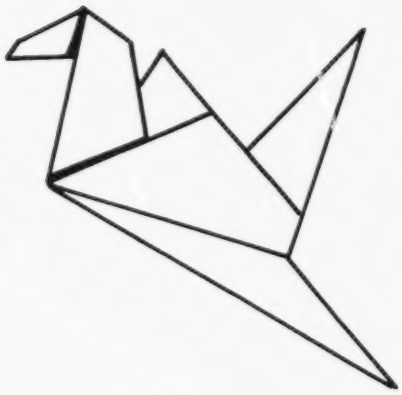
Evenings were taken up by cultural programmes, organized by the local host Folkbildningsförbundet: (folk) dancing, music, readings, a visit to the fun fair in Gothenburg, turning adult educators into quite ordinary fun loving kids, or meals with food traditional of the season — the midsummer which is an important festival up north, when the visitors from abroad could join the Scandinavians in marvelling at the dusk passing into dawn with no night in between, when it is possible to read a conference paper around midnight without switching the lamp on.

This report attempts to highlight some main isues of the conference in such a way that they can be felt to be as important to people who did not have the opportunity to take part. It is based on papers presented, reports from discussion groups, interviews recorded individually between sessions, and contributions made formally or informally. The approach is thematic, each theme being elucidated with bits from all available sources, from different points of view, identifying both areas of contention and of consensus, and in close contact with the ICAE office, from where the conference papers

can be obtained in extenso (pagination within brackets refers to these papers). In the process I hope to be able to convey something of the constructive atmosphere, professional excellence, human warmth, spontaneity and enthusiasm that characterized this occasion and made it such a rewarding experience for all those who took part.

Gunnar Rydström
Rapporteur





Erkner 87

On the very last day of the Kungälv conference Maria Villariba from the Philippines folded four paper birds which were passed around the table in the session hall. Each participant was asked to write one word or short sentence, in his or her own language, that would give the gist of the matter. They became variations on a number of themes: solidarity, love and caring, people's power, enlightenment, participation, freedom and peace, self-respect, and the struggle goes on . . .

These birds will now leave my desk and fly around the world, at the same time as they will migrate home fo find a permanent nest in the bosom of their mother.

लोकशक्ति

LOKA SHAKTI
(people's power)

Development

"The question of what works best in development is the subject of a lifetime's debate, the career definition for thousands of academics and the more sombre reality for the majority of the people in the world." (Hall p 16)

Here we have neither the time nor the space to devulge in much argumentation, we have to resort to simplifications, limiting ourselves to two models which may be labelled the growth model and the grass roots model.

The growth model has for a long time been prevalent. It is:

"based on the assumption that sooner or later something similar to the industrial revolution would occur in Third World countries, and that as a consequence we would enter the consumption and production spiral that occurred in Europe. As a result of this orientation, technocratic and mechanically oriented policies under different forms, were implemented from top to bottom. However, development, as prescribed by this perspective, has not happened and quite to the contrary, we are undergoing an overall crisis of a magnitude unknown before in world history. — — —

Poverty and marginality become more intense and differences between North and South deepen. During the 1970s the commercial balance of the Third World with the USA and the European Economic Community shows an 11.5 billion dollar deficit for the South in favour of the USA and 46 billion dollars in favour of the Community.

The critical issues today are the size of the external debt and the important role being played by finacial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. The question is not whether there will or will not be any development, but rather how to pay the enormous debt, so that if possible some day in the future we can think of economic growth and the redistribution of wealth.

In the face of this intense crisis, the perspective which dominates the industrial countries is that emphasis must be placed on economic recovery in the industrial world by eliminating obstacles to development such as high interest rates. This will in turn allow the 'fuelling' of the economies of the

Third World. Although in somewhat different form, this is once again the implementation of the 'trickle-down' theory of development which already has proved to be fallacious. At all levels of social and economic organizaion the gap between rich and poor continues to increase." (Vio Grossi p 3-5)

The same thing as seen from a Northern perspective:

"Yet the 'old paradigm' of development through infrastructure investment, and the spoken or unspoken assumption that wealth and benefit will trickle down to all sectors of the community, prevails unchecked, and is fuelled by the continuing domination in government counsels of economists, financiers and industrialists. Within the Western nations it is received wisdom that reduction of poverty must await new wealth generated through 'economic recovery'; or that all will automatically benefit from growth. Within countries like Britain, proposals to assist the poor have better prospects if couched in terms of economic productivity. In this climate, too, overseas development aid tends towards the 'hard-nosed' end, and with more than an eye to the economic benefit likely to accrue to the donor country." (Duke p 5)

"The overwhelming significance of power, and the exercise of political will, emerges in almost every study."

Britain can be said to be one of Europe's economically poorer and, educationally speaking, poorer performing countries, but even the:

"... world's most powerful nation is at present being led on a 'freedom crusade' in which good and evil are grotesquely parodied and simplified, and 'right' is measured in relative fire-power. No less marked is the general acquiescence, or apparent felt powerlessness, in the face of this ideological and operational swing to the right, and the quiescence, for example, of western campuses, as anxious job-seekers pass by the wider market and seek a niche in a still depressed labour market." (Duke p. 4)

This shift in the political climate and this outlook on international aid have also been felt north of the border:

"In Canada, for example, the more business-oriented government which is now in place at the federal level has resulted in larger proportions of the Official Development Assistance being allocated to export-promotion, tying the Official Development Assistance more firmly to the production of Canadian goods and services. In fact one of the 'hottest' sections of Canadian International Development Agency for those with career aspirations, is the division which works with private enterprise to get them involved more fully in

'development'.

So too, there appears to be fairly widespread concern in the bilateral agencies, that the constitutencies which have supported their work politically over the years may be slipping away. After all 'aid' has been given for 20 years or so and the Third World is still poor, replete with military dictatorships and mal-distribution of riches. 'Should we really keep supporting this kind of situation when we don't even have jobs at home?'' These are real fears which need serious analysis and which could benefit enormously by strenghtening the educational work being done in the North.'' (Hall p 13-14)

This is borne out by a spokesman with insight in the workings of the agency (CIDA):

''When I say the technical sector, I mean people in agriculture, in forestry, in transport, and they have a tendency much more to invest in equipment, or in credit or materials components, than in human resources. There's unfortunately a general tendency to think that investments in human resources are not as productive as investments in capital or equipment. Very often the argument we hear is that the problems and difficulties in the Third World countries are so important and so dramatic that we should invest where the money can have the faster impact. That brings us to intervention like food aid, like agriculture production. To feed the people first. People in that department say: let's feed first and teach afterwards.

I would not say that these people in the agency have complete control over the policy and the orientation, but that's the kind of debate we have to confront.'' (Beaulieu, interview)

This kind of development aid, which more or less disregards the human factor, of course has repercussions on the human beings affected by it. This is how it can be seen from the South:

''There was a group in Brazil which received quite a lot of aid, but after five years they were actually worse off than their neighbouring community who had not received any at all, and who did everything on their own. I am not saying that cooperation for development is not necessary, I am saying that we need to send cooperation in the proper time in the proper amount, with respect for what's going on in the community, trying not to promote such a deep change that the people will be detached from their past in order to go to the future, without entering into the future in a dependent way, that would mean that some day when the aid is not coming any longer, they would

not be self-reliant. That is something that's happening.

Modernity is permanent change — while in the peasant community the main value is stability, because the peasants want the next year to be as similar as possible to this year, because they give a lof of emphasis to stability. When people change too quickly they seem to lose their centre, there is nothing that organizes the new situation, because it is always changing, nothing keeps everything together. Religion is a good way of putting things together — although it may not be such a good way of seeing the real world — and when people begin to change quickly they often leave the church and try to find new ways of gaining a centre, like a political party. That's why we think that authoritarianism is not only a matter of military dictatorships, but also something we have in our minds and hearts. We see in popular education in Chile, an ongoing struggle against authoritarianism everywhere, in the government, also in the family for instance. And we see our work mainly related to integrate *the world of action,* which is work, production, transformation of things, *the world of social organization,* of popular organization, which is the public world and the political world, and also *the daily life world,* which is linked to personal development. And these three spheres have come together promoting a collective autonomy or collective self-reliance." (Vio Grossi interview)

So, alternatives to this "from-top-to-bottom" approach are necessary:

"Inherent in these alternatives of development is a return to an economy of a human scale. It is an economy shaped by active public participation, geared to the satisfaction of basic human needs, sensitive to ecological issues, based and concerned with the development of popular culture. It emphasizes systems rather than one- dimensional actions. Centralized forms of power, bureaucratic structures, mechanistic models and academic discussions are rejected, while the value of action or praxis is stressed, as well as the importance of the micro level and the integration of subjective elements into consideration. — — —

The nature of alternative development proposals bring into question the philosophic, economic, social and political basis of prevailing development approaches in the Third World. — - — I will focus on a distinguishing characteristic of alternative development, that is, the idea of satisfying basic needs, which are essential to a life with dignity.

Max Neef has suggested that human needs must first be understood as a system, that is, all human needs are interrelated and interact with one another. According to this scheme basic human needs are: survival, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure or recreation, creation, identity as giving sense to life and liberty. Thus, housing, food, income, are mere elements satisfying a human being's survival needs just as physical defense and curative and preventive measures are essential to satisfying the protection need. Therefore, human needs are the same in all cultures and all historical periods. What changes is the way or means by which these needs are satisfied. The needs of a consumer society and those of an austere more spartan one are the same. What varies is the social definition of goods and services necessary to satisfy basic needs. The development models proposed up to now in Latin America advocate abandoning the so-called traditional definition of resources needed to satisfy need and adopting those of the capitalist world.

The above concept of basic human needs allows us to create a true sense of unity in the aid chain because it implies a redifinition of the concept of poverty. Poverty is no longer restricted to income level, health or housing but rather is defined broadly as the articulation of any human need that goes unmet. For example, there is a poverty of protection due to violence and the arms race; a poverty of affection due to authoritarianism and oppression; a poverty of understanding due to oppressive educational practices; a poverty of participation due to sexism and racism; a poverty of identity due to political exile or the imposition of a dominant culture; and so on. Therefore, this concept of poverty applies to the so called 'poor countries' as well as to the self-named 'rich countries'. A person may be rich in material goods but poverty-stricken if measured according to other criteria. This may explain the astonishment of many foreigners who, while visiting the Mapuche in the rural zones of Chile's south, marvel at the dignity emanating from the leaders of this indigenous people. Dignity in the world of the Mapuche is understood as satisfaction with one's reality. On the other hand, it also may explain the poverty of many inhabitants of the industrial North who resort to drugs or alcohol as palliatives to their need for affection, participation or identity." (Vio Grossi p.6 + 9-11)

It is important to stress that it is not a matter of either/or but of alternatives. It would seem, though, that one alternative

"If development follows the prescribed Western lines, it leads to prosperity for the few and pauperisation for the many; it leads to powerlessness and dependency for those who once had greater control over their own lives and a great ability to reach their goals."

has been dominating for a very long time, and that the balance needs to be redressed. As a bridge over to the next section, here is a final quotation from Chris Duke's conference paper, referring back to ICAE studies on adult education and poverty:

"The other broad groupings into which the studies tended to fall were, on the one hand, large-scale, usually national and usually governmental, programmes conceived and financed as part of a national development strategy — though not therefore necessarily integrated with other elements of a national development plan — and, on the other hand, more local, small-scale, generally non-governmental, programmes which in the main had a fairly explicit community development, conscientising, or social change content. Reviews of the findings sharpened this dichotomy, calling attention to the relative opportunities provided by the different kinds of approach:

Some studies are of national or large-scale programmes, others of very local projects. They reveal the strengths and weaknesses of each. For example, national programmes have the potential for large-scale impact in a short time, whereas local projects can achieve a close and specific realationship with the unique needs and circumstances of a particular community. It is important to discover how to replicate and multiply successful approaches. Where political circumstances permit, perhaps local initiatives can be linked with nationally planned or supported efforts so that approaches successful in one place can be shared elsewhere. The contribution of voluntary bodies may be crucial for low-cost replication of local programmes which prove successful in helping to reduce poverty." (p 7).

Adult Education Practices

"We came to recognize the almost invisible, tiny location of adult education in the overall context of aid in the world; that hit us deeply." (reporting from groups)

This is supported by figures provided by SIDA:

"In 1984/85, 169 MSEK or 57 percent of the education budget was utilized for bilateral basic education programmes. However, the ovewhelming part of this sum was spent on basic education for children, the amount allocated for adults was around 24 MSEK or eight percent of the education budget." (SIDA p. 4)

Most of this money, 3/4 or about 17 million, was earmarked for one country, Tanzania, and most of the rest (4 million) went to a literacy campaign in Botswana. Still:

". . . we find ourselves to be one of the most important donors in the field of education, compared to other donor orrganisations. And in the strategy we have set for our aid to education we have given high priority to basic education. With basic education we mean both primary education and adult education. Although it is not all that much money we devote to adult education, ideologically we still feel it is a very important field which we want to follow closely and see developed.

— — —

We should also remember that we support non-formal education not only through the education division but also in a lot of integrated development projects which all of them contain, to a smaller or larger extent, educational components. And recently our agricultural division has put a lot of emphasis on integral rural development projects which they really give a lot of resources to, and I hope that these projects will be really efficient and good. The only trouble is that they might be difficult to replicate because they are usually quite expensive. We can support a small geographical area in this intense way but they can't be spread on a national basis." (SIDA interview)

SIDA's Canadian equivalent CIDA also stresses this point of not seeing adult education as an isolated field of activity, but rather as a component of practically every development effort:

"Nearly all development projects demand new knowledge

and new skills to be acquired. Participation in these projects involves the possibility of responding to such needs. But many evaluations have brought to light the weakness, even the total absence, of educational components inside projects. What's the use of a development project if the transfer of knowledge and insights is not assured? It has been proven that the impact of many projects has been dependent on the implementation of educational activities." (Wagner p. 8)

Obviously this is not only a matter of quantity and resources but also of quality and objectives. This is a very complicated matter indeed:

"It would be good to be able to say, simply, that we should promote some kinds of development programmes and abandon others, since some approaches work and others do not. The debate is, however, about ends as well as means; and there is less consensus about the former than was the case a decade or two ago. Aid and development agencies considering adult education as a means range themselves from intergovernmental organisations - servants of governments — to in some instances radical non-governmental organisations committed to a set of values totally inimical to the existence of a number of regimes, with diverse government and private multi- and bilateral possibilities ranged in between, having different degrees of dependence on or independence of governments and political systems at both ends of the spectrum of aid partnerships.

Agencies' perception of adult education, its scope and role, will also vary. Some, presumably not represented at such a meeting as this, may still cling to the 'macrame and flower-arranging', liberal and recreational, stereotype. Others, less blinkered, may yet think of it as a distinct programme area, rather than as an integrated support system to all development and aid programmes. Others again, accepting this, may restrict their thinking to technical knowledge and skills: the hands and heads, rather than the heads and hearts, of the people. The ICAE poverty case studies suggested that the most effective forms of adult education were those further from the tradional education stereotype (and consequently probably furthest from what the non-education development officer would think of). Dijkstra reflected thus:

. . . adult education should not be considered as a seperate sector or unit, without direct relations to other sectors . . . It will function in various ways and be organized in certain sectors, but include at the same time functions which are not

generally considered to be adult educational. This makes it rather difficult for offical authorities to 'control', even to grasp the importance, and therefore I might for very pragmatic reasons structure the sector of adult education to some extent, whilst at the same time allowing for transgressions of dividing lines. The agricultural extension service and the agent, the doctor and the nurse, the cooperative, the organisation of the rural people are all educational forces and should be used as such.

There are, then, differences over the ends — what 'development is desirable?' — and over the means: not only 'what development is successful' but what is the scope of 'adult education', and which forms are successful in promoting which development? This paper, like the ICAE adult education and poverty project, starts with the assumption that development should benefit especially the poorest sectors of the community, and that it should build in the means for independence of further poverty and deprivation: its commitment is to remedy, although it does not deprecate relief, recognizing that in some circumstances relief, amelioration, is all that can be attempted. — — —

It behoves aid agencies and adult educators meeting and working together to clarify which set of purposes they jointly subscribe to, in which time, place and context, and which tools and means will advance these purposes. The spectrum of adult educator purposes and means, is at least as wide as the range of development and aid ideologies and approaches. While there will be differences over values and ultimate purposes, there is no excuse for not achieving fitness of the match between particular aid programmes and the adult education efforts which should be integrated into them.'' (Duke p. 8-10)

Another participant, speaking from a Third World point of view, elaborated the role of adult education and the adult educator in this way:

''And if we turn around the definition of adult education then we will have the possibility of inserting ourselves in other people's work — we can insert ourselves in agriculture, insert ourselves in forestry, insert ourselves in health care, insert ourselves in women's welfare, or whatever - and say: what you are doing is essentially adult education. Here is a set of skills, or here is a set of practices which can make your work a little bit more effective. The whole basic work we have is pedagogy. We have nothing else to offer.

The obstacles in achieving this critical role of adult educa-

''The whole question is: how can we give power to people at the bottom?''

tion are essentially twofold:

1. Obstacles related to conceptualization. This concept of adult education puts people in the centre. It assumes that people are interested in, capable of, and can be encouraged critically to examine their own situation and to make efforts to transform it. This essential faith in the ordinary people is quite the antithesis of the model by which development is being implemented in our countries, where a set of experts — be they engineers, doctors, lawyers, planners, economists, social scientists — a set of experts who sit in a place away from the stage where the daily life of an ordinary person is enacted, and through abstract concepts and confused statistics arrive at a plan, in fact believing that left to themselves people will not be able to do this, and therefore create a whole delivery machinery, which will deliver this development onto people.

So this is a very serious conceptual problem, which comes in the way of adult education playing its role. Just look at situations where it has played this kind of role — I mean situations where the experts have either not existed or been demolished, a sort of temporary revolutionary situation, the situation ten

years ago in Tanzania, the situation two or three years ago in Nicaragua.

2. The second obstacle; I have begun to realize in the Indian context, that just as the doctors are the major obstacle to health, similarly professionally trained adult educators are a major obstacle to adult education. I was very pleasantly surprised yesterday to learn that in a country like Sweden you don't have professionally trained adult educators. But if you look at a country like India we have at least in a hundred universities departments of adult education bringing out masters and Ph.D:s who have in a way professionalized, in a narrow sense, and captured in this limited circle the field of adult education, and as a result ordinary field workers, activists, primary school teachers, village level workers, engaged in adult education are not recognized and in fact actively decried: you can't be an adult educator! So there is an expertise in adult education as well and not just in other sectors. And this is why the larger population also does not understand this integrated meaning of adult education because here is a group of people who call themselves adult educators, who are professionally trained masters and Ph.D:s. So I think that this professional adult education way of looking at the field has, particularly in countries like India, come in the way of seriously integrating adult education. Because, if we integrate it, we have to say that every field worker, every extension agent, is an adult educator; and if we define it this way, what will happen to my speciality? So it is a serious dilemma!" (Tandon interview)

"Usually a programme succeeds when it is good for the people, and it is good for the people when the people control their own learning programmes."

According to Chris Duke there are other big obstacles as well:

"It must be admitted, sadly, that in some circumstances adult education is virtually ineffectual. In extreme circumstances of famine or other disaster, relief to save life must overwhelm and displace all longer term approaches. More problematically, in some instransigently repressive and inegalitarian regimes, most forms of adult education may be futile — other than the training and educating of insurgents, guerillas or freedom fighters, which sits at the edge of what most aid agencies can contemplate. — — —

Occasionally there are historic moments when old patterns are broken, and political and popular will fully coincide. Ideally, development support including a powerful element of adult education would then be generously forthcoming. Sadly, such moments are seen more often than not as a threat rather than an opportunity; aid agencies find themselves out of sympathy

with their own governments, as, for example, between Nicaragua and the United States today. — — —

There are several issues to bear in mind in considering any adult eduation and development project. Is the beneficiary likely to be the individual, the group, or the whole social/political system? Is a longer term conscientising dimension included? Is dependency (locally and/or internationally) likely to increase or to diminish? Will there be some element of mobilisation, or is any gain to ordinary people dependent on 'trickle-down'? Is there any discernible alignment of popular with political will? Is the project participative, or imposed from above? Will it be limited to relief, or contribute to remedy? How explicit, and how likely to be effective, is the link with the other, more direct, development functions — eg. education and training to use, maintain and repair new capital equipment, or easy availibility of low interest loans to peasants and small farmers to start up self-reliant village level projects? Is the social and economic role of women recognized, and do education and develoment projects accurately reflect this in their allocation of resources? Is the programme monitored against the common process of subversion and diversion whereby resources intended for the poorer and more needy sectors get captured and used instead by the less needy — the middle classes, or the more wealthy farmers, for example?" (p 11-12)

Many questions and maybe some answers. Let us listen to two voices from the South. First one from Latin America:

"Adult education, widely understood as any action of reflection on reality with the purpose of transforming it, has contributed significantly to the rise and 'systematization' of these new conceptions of life and development.

From the beginning, adult education linked to popular efforts demanding access to education and technology, has emphasized the need to focus the educative process on the adult and not on the educator. As a result of this, important conceptual and methodological developments were needed to challenge not only the verticalism and the authoritarianism prevalent in education but also to propose methods and techniques of learning that went beyond teaching, to link education directly to those actions designed to improve the quality of life of individuals and communities.

Education ceased to be an introverted, introspective activity with closed objectives. It is transforming itself into a dynamic process nurturing the integrative development of all human

"Essentially adult education is a process whereby adults learn to respect what they already know, acquire an ability to learn what they don't know, to practice that learning and to be able to act in a way that enhances their sense of self-confidence, self-worth and their sense of empowerment."

capacities. The concepts of permanent and non-formal education emerged from these theoretical and methodological developments which were attempting to insert education into the everyday life of workers, peasants, women, slum dwellers and adults in general, in order to create the conditions where they would control their destinies. Later, Paulo Freire's contribution (awareness, action, reflection, popular education) widened the scope of permanent and informal education by locating the focus of educational and developmental processes in persons and their communities rather than in planning and macroeconomics. The significant contribution made by adult education to the revival of humanism in politics, social, philosophy and development has yet to be investigated." (Vio Grossi p 7-8)

The second voice is from India:

"Over the years my understanding of adult education in its potential in transforming people's lives, and its potential for social change, that I have seen, heard, read about, has convinced me that adult education is in a way the blood or the lifeline of any development effort. It may be called in different names — it may be called non-formal education, it may be

called extension education, whatever — essentially it is a process whereby adults learn to respect what they already know, acquire an ability to learn what they don't know, to practice that learning and to be able to act in a way that enhances their sense of self-confidence, self-worth, and their sense of empowerment. That's what I understand by adult education. It has an informing role, it has a skill-building role, it has a mobilizing role, it has an empowering role.

Looked at from this point of view, any kind of social change, particularly a model of social change which tries to focus on concepts of equality and social justice, would imply that the marginal, oppressed sections of the population, the hitherto powerless groups, are the ones which will have to take a lead in this process of development.

And therefore, the very mechanisms by which such sections of the population analyse their situation critically, acquire the knowledge, the skill to move ahead, and practice that new knowledge and skill — that whole process of the powerless and the marginal sections is the educational process, is the adult education process. It takes place in the context of agriculture, it takes place in the context of health care, it takes place in the context of drinking water, it takes place in the context of protecting one's environment, it takes place in the context of demanding minimum wages, it takes place in the context of creating alternative income opportunities, it takes place in the context of questioning the nature of the state, it takes place in the context of becoming sensitive to the needs and concerns of women, so — irrespective of the area of concern, the very involvement of adults in changing their situation, particularly the involvement of the marginalized sections of the population, is an educational process.

Therefore, conceptually, I have no difficulty. The problem comes when various programmes of development are implemented, because then they seem to by-pass, or ignore, or short-change, this critical aspect of any development process. And this is reflected in the fact that massive programmes of development do not take into consideration the educational component, or only marginally, and then they fail, and then they turn around and find a scapegoat in the people, and say they are resistent to change, they are not interested in joining the main-stream — all kinds of jargon is used, basically to cover up the ignorance of the planners." (Tandon interview)

Can the answer then be summed up in one single word:

empowerment?

"In very general terms I would say that if an adult education programme is not in the hands of the people it tends to fail, when the programme is in the hands of the people it tends to succeed. Having said that, it is the question of the word 'succeed'. What does it mean, 'success'? For some people to succeed is to improve their income level. For others to develop their social identity. Usually the concept of success has to do with several satisfactors at the same time. How can a particular programme give me more knowledge? Improve the quality of my life? Give me affection? Give me dignity — which is being more pleased with my own in relation to the world, and transforming the world.

Usually a programme succeeds when it is good for the people, and it is good for the people when the people control their own learning programmes." (Vio Grossi interview)

Two final comments on this. First by Budd Hall:

"In our work we are often caught between views of development which stress the insertion of knowledge, or the 'hole-in-the-head' theory, and those which emphasize the inherent intelligence, creativity and solution-finding capacities of people.

The 'hole-in-the-head' theorists see adult education and their related NGOs as the delivery agencies of technical information, modern ideas and knowledge which can be poured into the heads of people in subtle and sophisticated ways.

Most of us in the adult education movement are now more firmly of a mind that it is more important to strengthen the confidence of people and provide opportunities for them to exercise their own full intellectual and creative potential than to be simply providers of people's ideas.

This vastly oversimplifies a complex set of relationships between learning and social and political change but has implications for donor NGO relations as it is a source of tension in terms of what can be or cannot be funded. For example, we would say that it is sometimes better to provide more general programme suport to an NGO than to fund a specific delivery programme only. We should build up the capacity of the NGOs to become less dependent just as we build up local institutions or individuals." (p 16-17)

Then by Serge Wagner:

"In neither North or South has adult education received the recognition it deserves. It is still the 'poor relative' of the educational system. This fact manifests itself in the policy of

international development agencies: the contribution to adult education is considerably less than to formal education. Promotion of adult education must be given priority, both within the aid agencies and in the educational structures of the Third World. We must influence people other than those already convinced!

These promotion efforts should take place at a political level, and reach responsible decision-makers at top level in ministries of education in Third World governments, and on the boards of international aid agencies in donor countries. Adult education ought to become a development priority (definitely not the case at the moment).

'Trans-sectoral' promotion should actively take place. There is a relationship between adult education and many other develoment sectors such as agriculture, environment, health and population, women. Representatives of other sectors should become aware of adult education as a crucial factor, and given support when introducing educational components in their sector programmes.

Finally government involvement in educational programmes must increase. Of course a balance should be struck between an augmented government role and a respect for local initiatives, but this increased involvement by the state is necessary - and inevitable, which see the spread of general education of the young in the 19th and 20th centuries! Defenders of adult education would also benefit from liberating themselves from certain false contradictions . eg. work through local NGOs vs state intervention, international assistance to NGOs 'rather than' aid via bilateral programmes - which too often poison relations, and hamper development in this sector." (p 14-15)

Empowerment in Action

table talk on Popular Theatre

between Honor Ford Smith, Jamaica
Taka Mudariki, Zimbabwe
Faruque Ahmed, Bangladesh

Honor

I work mainly with a group of women called Sistren. We are primarily using drama as a means of evoking people's consciousness of their own situation and as a means of reflecting on that situation. We have workshops with small groups of people where concerns are generated by our group working with the women. We also make larger presentations based on these experiences that have been evoked, molded into some kind of theatrical presentation to a "general public audience", or moved around the country, performed from community to community.

Another level has been in trying to build up the alliance between popular theatre workers and cultural workers both in the Caribbean and within the country. Although my own work has been very much oriented around the question of women and the articulation of their problems and trying to change some of their difficulties — we are now trying to work with other popular theatre groups, aiming at other sectors like youth and the aged. We are also trying to link with groups and organisations spread out around the Caribbean, to work out some kind of methodology of collective creation, which uses our own traditional language, as a language of expression, but which suggests alternative ways of thinking about actors, thinking about the drama, thinking about dance . . .

Taka

I work for Zimfep which is involved in promoting education and work, adult education and community-based theatre.

Community-based theatre is the link that helps us to bring education and people together. The project started in 1981 as a result of the lessons learnt during the liberation struggle, where theatre was very much used to mobilize people, to boost morale, especially during the hardships in the camps. So after independence it was felt that we needed to create new forms of culture, to carry on the rather unsystematic experiments that were started in the war. We had no professionally trained people, so activists from Kenya were invited, where they /Ngugi wa Thiongo and others/ had the experience of organizing community education.

The first project they undertook when they came to Zimbabwe was to organize a musical drama on the Trial of Dedan Kamati /a freedom fighter during the so called Mau Mau war/. They recruited peasants, workers and students to take part. After a month of training they toured throughout the country and it was a very big success.

Our emphasis at the moment is to train teachers in using theatre and drama as a tool for education, to train workers in drama as a tool for organizing themselves and for mobilizing other workers to take an active part in trade union affairs. Thirdly we are using theatre as a tool for adult education programmes, especially among extension workers.

Farugue

I work in an organisation called Proshika. We have been working for about 11 years. Our programmes relate to organizing the landless and the small peasants in Bangladesh. We also develop relevant educational materials to develop their capacity for leaderhip, collective action, and problem solving.

We try to see the possibilities of indigenous cultural media as a means for promoting that kind of education. We try to link up with our rich tradition of culture. Inititally we thought of organizing popular theatre by forming a group of cultural activists who would then go around different places but we gave up that idea because, if you did that, the creative capacity of people would not be generated. We would still be outsiders and not remain in the community.

Our approach became developing the capacity of the poor themselves to produce their drama, using their own resources and talents. We found that they have a vast reserve of talents. In the beginning we were somewhat daunted by the fact that the participants were illiterate and therefore not able to be expressive in dramatic form which would require a certain level of skill in literacy — to read a script, remember a dialogue and all these things. We found that they were much more vocal and they did not need the help of a script, precisely because they drew the themes of the drama from their life situation, they told their own stories, their own problems, their issues, using their own dialects, the local language.

This has become a major activity in Bangladesh for us, and other groups are also interested. Our present work is to link up with different groups and share experiences, and also to develop the level of artistry in the drama. Before we did not pay any attention to that, but now when they have gone through this experience and gained confidence they feel they want to learn more about the artistic elements. But most of all we find that this kind of drama is leading up to social action.

I can give you an example.

In Bangladesh the banks for giving rural credits are very corrupt. If you don't pay a certain amount you won't get loans, and all this kind of thing. One popular theatre group in a village took up this issue. From all these people who had suffered from the process of taking loans they got a story and presented it in the form of drama, performed in front of the bank. What happened was that the bank was closed, and the people from Dhaka came to investigate, and the manager was sacked. So this has a power of exposing corruption and injustice, and thereby sometimes preventing it. It is a tremendous power that popular theatre can have if it is linked with organisation building.

Taka

Certainly I see that this is a powerful tool, for giving people power. It has all the elements that good adult education is all about.

In Zimbabwe we have no tradition of formalized theatre, except a few groups here and there who were trying to emulate the Western type of theatre during the colonial days. Our new programme today is giving rise to quite a large number of groups — a women's group, a domestic workers' group, and we also work with co-operatives. We have created an umbrella body for all these, because we found that doing thea're without an organisational base did not work. For instance, depending on extension workers only, did not work because they would go away, the group would be

dispersed and would not meet again until they organized courses. Now we are working with organized groups. Our work is expanding and I think it has caught the imagination of many people. They have suddenly discovered they have got a talent, that this is one way in which they can also show that they are capable of doing something creative. But we are still struggling with this and I think that some kind of exchange of information with countries like Bangladesh and Jamaica would be very beneficial to us.

Honor

I agree, I think that this kind of exchange is very important, in terms of building up both the skills of people in the particular organisation, and also the way we approach and analyse the work itself. In the Caribbean we have been trying to put together various bits and pieces on the approach to the whole question. Some examples of this are the movement that was started by Boal with the theatre of the oppressed or Forum theatre, where a problem is presented and then interrupted by the audience and can be changed by people who have a different vision of how it should go; the input of Latin American playwrights like Enrico Buenventura who is trying to work out a whole new mode of artistic production based on collective creation; and the input of some of the English educators, working in the field of drama and education, who have developed new techniques and methods of negotiation between teacher and student. Those are kinds of things we are looking at, plus our own tradition of performance style, extracting elements from that which question the whole notion of what theatre really is, or where theatre begins and life ends.

Faruque

We are trying to develop an alternative strategy for development which means we are concerned about the equity question and social justice. In our country the small peasants and the landless were all marginalized and they are excluded not only from the development efforts of the government but also from all the resource bases that we have. So development to us means for the poor to assert their rights, to get organized and claim what is due to them. Development is not technocratic in our case, that is handing out money and technology to them, and they do something with it. That may have to be done, but the internal capacity for them to get organized and articulate their

problems and do something about them themselves is an important thing. To do that we — as an external agency - provide educational and training inputs, credit input, skill building input.

For example, if a women's organisation wants to take up some income-generating activity, say fishing, we will provide them with skill building facilities and we will provide them with credit. But we won't stop at that, we move on into the emancipatory process. They ask questions about their status in society. What are the reasons for their oppression and what can they do about it?

The main issue for women in Bangladesh is dowry, and the oppression related to dowry. This problem can be presented in a much more emotional form through a drama than, for instance, through a lecture which, no matter how well written it is, can't come anywhere near a well presented drama. And we have found that when the women present it to

other women's oganisations, they can quickly come to a consensus how to act. Drama does not stop as a recreational activity, it leads up to social action. We have found women organizing to prevent dowry and they sometimes arrange marriages without dowry.

Honor

This is a very important element, particularly for us in our countries at our particular stage, where theatre and organisation has seemed to be able to cross barriers which traditional political organisations just have not been able to deal with. So what we have is a new place for culture in political thinking. Culture is, if you like, the first phase of consciousness raising, a particular way of bringing together consciousness and action. People who are very resistent to traditional forms of political organisation, even cynical about it, resistent to certain issues because of their political bias, can somehow be integrated into a new way of seeing those issues through the cultural mode.

Faruque

As popular theatre has been found to be such a powerful tool, I would like to bring up the issue of cooption.

This media is under people's control and they can do whatever they want to do with it. It is a kind of newspaper for them. Here is a media in their hands now, which they can use for projecting their own issues to a wider audience, to themselves and others. If you think of all other media that are not accessible to them, not presenting their problems, we felt that this was quite an empowering process. We found that this was a free and effective tool for adult eduction and for conscientation, which did not depend very much on an external agency.

Because of this it runs the risk of being coopted, if it is used for a talk-down message. Through popular theatre you can give a message to people, instead of people using popular theatre for giving their message to others. So I find a danger here that many government and non-government organisations see theatre as a means for delivering their message, and then it becomes a tool for control.

I think that popular theatre activists and cultural workers must be very sensitive about this issue, so that this media can play its proper role and be kept in the hands of the poor, for their own development, for using it as a media for articulation. For they don't have any access to other media, this is the only media they have.

Taka

Yes, I think that this is an important point to note. I also think that we should promote popular theatre as a way of spending leisure.

If you come to Harare on a Sunday you will feel very sorry when you see all these domestic workers on the road, listening to packaged music — which we are all victims of, even the petty bourgoisie — and there is nothing very creative in what they are doing. And then you have those who go to soccer which is another form of packaged entertainment. So I think that popular theatre can be a very useful tool for helping people to use their leisure time creatively. In that process they will develop.

Honor

In our context we have this incredible bombardment of T.V. non-stop, from the United States in particular. We can turn on T.V. in St. Vincent in the Caribbean and be told that temperature is now zero degrees and when you walk outside it is 95. Weather reports may not be all that important, but it brings out the whole contradiction. Theatre is not as "efficient" a medium, in the sense that it does not reach as many people as T.V. does, but it allows us some kind of margin of being able to explore our own cultural frame of reference.

And it is a two-way medium, it does allow people to talk back. There is a lot more of participation than in closed media forms like T.V. video etc. So I think that is a point in favour of its humanness and its potential for allowing a more complete sense of the society in which we live, and it has that very strong integrative capacity.

But I don't think theatre exists in isolation from anything else, you must see the whole thing in relation to a number of questions: in relation to the concerns that people themselves are trying to express, in relation to some kind of theory of where we are trying to get to, and how the contradictions in our own situation affect us. People must have the skills to express their own needs but I think that we also have to develop some kind of understanding of how change works, what some of the forces are that we as people must gain control over, how power operates in our particular society, how ownership affects us, and so on.

NGOs

Many participants at the Kungälv conference pointed out that this was the first time NGOs from different parts of the world had come together as NGOs to discuss issues of mutual interest with people normally sitting on the other side of the negotiating table, be they called donors, partners in development, funding agencies or whatever.

Here it might be useful to give a short presentation of the NGOs, the role they play in the field of international development in general, and adult education in particular, against a historical background by Budd Hall of ICAE in his conference paper:

"In the age of large and relatively well-known governmental and inter-governmental development assistance agencies it may be useful to recall the days not so many years ago when these agencies did not exist. Many of our bilateral agencies are quite young, some 10 years old, a few 20 years old and very few more than 30 years old. Even the entire United Nations system is a modern project, an institutionalized hope of a better world created after WWII.

In Canada, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany and most likely in other western nations, it was the non-governmental agencies which created the concepts of international cooperation or solidarity. In many countries committees of citizens' organizations or NGOs were responsible for channelling development assistance funds from the governments before state structures were put into place. The earliest efforts of course were often linked to notions of charity or even religious conversion. But the history of development assistance also draws heavily on efforts from the beginning of this century by the trade union movements, the international cooperative movement, the librarians and such organizations as the YWCA.

The historic role of non-governmental groups at the origin of what by now are large and sophisticated bureaucracies should come as no surprise. Voluntary organizations, citizens' groups, popular asssociations, and people's organizations have always been in the forefront of social innovations and political change. The social contract between the people of a nation and

the state which is put in place to serve the people often includes the permanent existence of these popular and democratic structures.

What is of interest to us, however, is the growth in the number of NGOs of all kinds: local, national, regional and international working in the field of international cooperation and solidarity.

I find the term The Third Forum to be a useful way of thinking about the proliferation of non-governmental structures, a collective way of describing this phenomenon. The International Foundation for Development Alternatives was the organization which first introduced the term to us some years ago. The concept refers to the fact that in the past 25 years there have been two major fora in international development assistance: the multi-lateral forum and the bilateral forum. — - — The Third Forum represents the multitude of non-governmental coalitions, small groups, networks, development NGOs at all levels in all parts of the world.

"It is of critical importance to note that the Brandt Commission has not made strong mention of the role of non-governmental organizations or of the role of adult education in the Programme for Survival, although they have urged support of UNESCO's efforts to promote literacy and the need for public education."

The literally thousands of NGOs (The Economic and Social Commission of the United Nations has a list of over 20,000 NGOs) have begun to strengthen links between themselves in their own nations, to build links within sectors (such as adult education), to create partnerships between other partners in the South, to link up with communities in the North and in general to provide a source of remarkable energy and diversity. Collectively one could easily assert that the momentum in terms of innovation in either social transformation or economic and social development lies quite firmly on this side of the spectrum.

In the face of inevitable growing pains in the life of our United Nations system and the sometimes contradictory nature of bilateral assistance which can become lodged in the political games of our besieged globe, the relatively efficient and people-focused nature of the NGOs has looked much more attractive in recent times. Our bilateral agencies have channelled more funds through NGOs in their own country and through or to NGOs in the South. The UN system has expanded their use of NGOs and even the larger financing agencies such as the IBRD have been exploring and experimenting with NGOs.

As is easily apparent, there are a wide variety of NGOs. The term covers small village level organizations with no paid staff, to national level organizations operating in 7,000 — 8,000

villages. There are regional NGOs operating across continents or sub-continents and international NGOs operating on world-wide levels. They are organized in as many ways as human beings can imagine. They can be sectoral, integrative, action oriented, research based, educational bodies, policy organizations, politically focused or any combination of the above! Importantly for our discussions, they are also found in both the North and the South.

How does one account for the revived interest in the NGOs? At the risk of oversimplification it may be useful to review the characteristics of a majority of these structures:

People-centred

There is an emphasis in most of these organizations on the quality of human relationships say, for example, between the people working in the office in Stockholm and the people in the project in Tanzania or Mozambique. An emphasis is almost always placed on participation of people in planning and implementing of projects. People and their creativity are seen as central to any kind of development.

Flexible

In a smaller organization it is easier to respond to changes in needs in the country or community which is a partner. This ability to respond to changing conditions is seen by many as a key to success in cooperation work. The very diversity of ways of working within NGOs is a strength. An unbureaucratic spirit is strongly felt in most NGOs.

Democratic

Support to NGOs is often support to democratic structures in both the North and the South. This has been especially noted in Latin America during the 1970s and 80s as support for popular education through NGOs has played a strong role in the struggle to regain democracy in Peru, Brazil and Argentina. The same can be said of support to NGOs in the North and on a global scale to regional and international NGOs.

Cost-effective

Compared with either multi-lateral or bilateral development assistance the NGOs have a proven record as implementers

of solid work at relatively low costs. The strong motivation of the staffs in these organizatons in fact sometimes leads to severe underpaying and overwork as part of this effectiveness.

Constituency-building

In the North, support to an NGO is also a way of building public and political support for international development asistance across the country. In the South it builds links to the donor country at a personal level in a way that large scale bilateral aid seldom does. Public education of the population in the North about international issues is critical to maintaining political support for international cooperation.

NGOs are sometimes supported by governments and other agencies because they are seeking the self-reliant and democratic forms of government which the NGOs represent. But there are also conservative forces in many of our western nations which favour the use of private rather than public organizations. The conservative forces suggest that the government is too big, too involved in the affairs of the nation. The solution is to put a bigger portion of social and economic activity into the hands of private organizations. In fact the voluntary organization has often been relied on by conservative governments to pick up the pieces which fall between the holes in the social security net. Prior to the creation of the welfare state, poverty and its related characteristics such as poor health and illiteracy, were left to the consciences of the wealthy. In present times passing activities once done by a government department to an NGO, may mean a cost savings because the NGO is never given the same funds to carry out the task the government used. There is the obvious danger that NGOs can be seen as a "cheap solution" to development, leaving more funds for support to business or other concerns.

For these and other reasons a continuing vigilence and tension, most likely a healthy tension, exists in the non-governmental/governmental partnership." (p 2-6)

"NGOs have played a very important role in highlighting the negative consequences of the model of development being pursued in the country."

Let us see how healthy this tension might seem from the South point of view. First a voice from Chile:

"The increase in such organizations can be attributed, at least in part, to the particular characteristics of the state in many Third World countries. In fact, the imposition of economic liberalism as defined by the economists of the Chicago School

has meant that the state has abandoned its responsibility for and role in social development. It has maintained its function as guarantor of the social order through oppression, thus creating a climate in which hegemonic economic groups can maximize their profits. This policy has created a vacuum and hence a space in which promotion organizations have been created to support oppressed groups in their search for the fulfillment of their basic human needs.

Those non-governmental organisations whose purpose is the design, study and execution of alternative development programmes and projects with popular sectors in Third World countries shall be referred to . . . as promotion organizations, POs.
(Vio Grossi)

On the other hand, the state, when involved in local development, has been accused of being inefficient. Its actions frequently do not respond to the needs of the popular sectors. The state is viewed as inflexible, bureaucratic and expensive. The state is insensitive to local spending issues and its functioning maintains a social distance from local groups such that distrust and inertia, often measured by a lack of participation, exists.

— — —

Promotion oganizations (POs) interviewed in Peru, Bolivia and Chile concurred that their principal objective is to insert themselves in specific local realities through the solving of concrete problems; this enables them to create the conditions for a new type of development that is from the bottom to the top. These promotion agencies are characterized by the value they place on local creativity and initiative, often demonstrated by support for the recovery of traditional ways; the development of native cultures; the documentation of popular knowledge; and the recognition of people's technology that has resolved some of the issues of survival and subsistence, for example, a technology that is simple, cheap to produce and that requires an intensive use of human labour.

A central tenent or value guiding the work of the POs is participation and popular organization. Moreover, the benefactor of a project should be at once the subject of the action and the conductor of its development. The relationship between the external agent, the member of the promotion agency, and the local community should be based on dialogue and sharing. The imposition of ideas and paternalistic attitudes must be set aside. Decision making within the project and ultimately its evaluation must involve the active participation of all concerned. All institutions emphasized that their activities should be part of the complex, multifaceted and dynamic processes unfolding in local communities. As a result of this, the work of these promotion organizations cannot be reduced to

temporary, specific and limited projects. A system of programmes is preferred, that is, a complex set of activities that extend in time and that are flexible and adaptable to new situations, not to mention the ever changing local reality." (Vio Grossi p 13-15)

Rajesh Tandon says that in his country, India, NGOs have three main functions:

"1. First of all NGOs have been able to bring to national attention issues or concerns of development which neither the government nor the political parties were able to bring, eg. the concerns of women. The state never brought that out, neither the political parties, it was the NGOs, the Women's organizations that did that. The whole issue of environment, deforestation, pollution, destruction, issue of occupational health and safety, issue of displacement due to development projects, including dams, issue of linkage between migration and development of slums in our cities, question of the green revolution technology, negative consequencies of that — a series of issues which were neither brought to the national debate or attention by the state or its departments nor the political parties. So this is a very important role the NGOs

have played, particularly highlighting the negative consequencies of the model of development being pursued in the country.

2. Secondly, to highlight the concerns of these sectors of the population who are very marginalized - which are not politically strong in the country. These are the tribals, the women, the landless labourers, the nomads, the pavement dwellers in cities like Bombay. Their concerns, their special requirements were brought into the national visibility by the work of NGOs among them. Neither the government and its development arm, nor the political parties were working with these sectors. Because they are not important political vote banks, they don't matter in the counting of votes.

3. NGOs have in a limited micro-setting experimented with solutions to some of the pressing social and economic problems of the country. The whole model of village level health worker and the primary health care concept were experimented by NGOs. The design and installation of the Indian hand pump was done by NGOs. Creative design and acceptence of biogas, or alternative energy sources, have been done by NGOs. Interesting social aforestation programmes have been done by NGOs. Innovative solutions to problems of the production of literacy learning materials, methodology of training, methodology of research, alternative employment opportunities for poor rural women, alternative housing design using local materials, have been done by NGOs. The innovation and experimentation of any of these issues came from NGO work in a micro way, although many of them have been developed by the state, and have become state policy.

So in looking at all these roles, we see that the NGOs are beginning to represent a third sector different from the state, different from the corporative sector, different from the party, and the strength of the NGO is in its commitment and in its flexibility. So while I don't believe, at least not in the Indian context and in many of the Asian countries, that the state will be done away with - the state will remain — therefore the bulk of the responsibility for development has to be borne by the state. The state can't use the NGOs as a cheap substitute for what is its own moral and political responsibility. But I think that the NGOs need to continue to play these three roles, because the state can't play them." (interview)

The Roles We Play

international interaction

In the field of international adult education there are a number of actors, who interact with each other, although they have more or less distinct roles to play. Sometimes they have several roles, depending in what light or from what angle they are seen.

It might be useful first of all to make a distinction between North and South, that is, industrial countries of Europe, North America, plus Japan and Australia and Israel on the one hand, and Third World countries on the other. In the international context resources flow from the North to the South — to counterbalance the flow of raw materials and profits going in the other direction in international trade.

Money for international development assistance is determined by governments in the North, in some kind of dialogue or negotiations with governments in the South, at least drawing up the framework. Governments in the North do not, however, hand over money directly to governments (ministries) in the South, but normally work through some kind of international development agency, which then becomes a "donor" (agency).

Guided by political decisions, donors can also work through other organisations, both in their own country and in other countries. This is, at least so far, a much smaller undertaking than either bilateral or multilateral aid.

NGOs in the North can either run projects and programmes in the field, in cooperation with various local bodies, or they have sister organisations with whom they are in close contact. They often must have links with ministries in the South to be able to carry out their work.

Influencing all these actors in the North is the public at large, both as tax payers, voting for parties that pursue a development policy they can support, as members of various NGOs, and as voluntary contributors to fundraising campaigns etc. Without support of public opinion, none of this would be possible. So there is a constant feedback of information from the field, both through the NGOs and through media, sometimes backed up by donor agencies (giving travel grants to journalists,

"Our partners can have visions and models and then the facts can start coming."

film makers, text book writers, grants to materials production, etc.)

Governments in the South may have a coordinating office for all development assistance coming in, whatever the source, to be divided among various ministries for adult education work in the field. They also give grants to NGOs for their adult education activities.

Finally the "field" itself, that is, people in the Third World country who are to benefit from all this.

Hovering in between are a number of international and regional bodies, acting as clearing houses for ideas and information, having contacts with everybody concerned both in the South and in the North. There are special adult education organizations like ICAE with its world-wide scope, or continental umbrella organisations such as CEEAL in Latin America. There are international federations like the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) and the Red Cross, running their own relief or remedy programmes all over the world.

Traditionally the relationship between organizations in the North and organizations in the South has been one of donor-recipient, the donor giving aid to various receivers. This paternalistic (or maternalistic — the donor often being based in a former "mother country") approach has eventually become outdated and undesirable. "Aid" has given way to "cooperation", and "donors" want to be "partners". As Budd Hall pointed out in his paper this may obscure things:

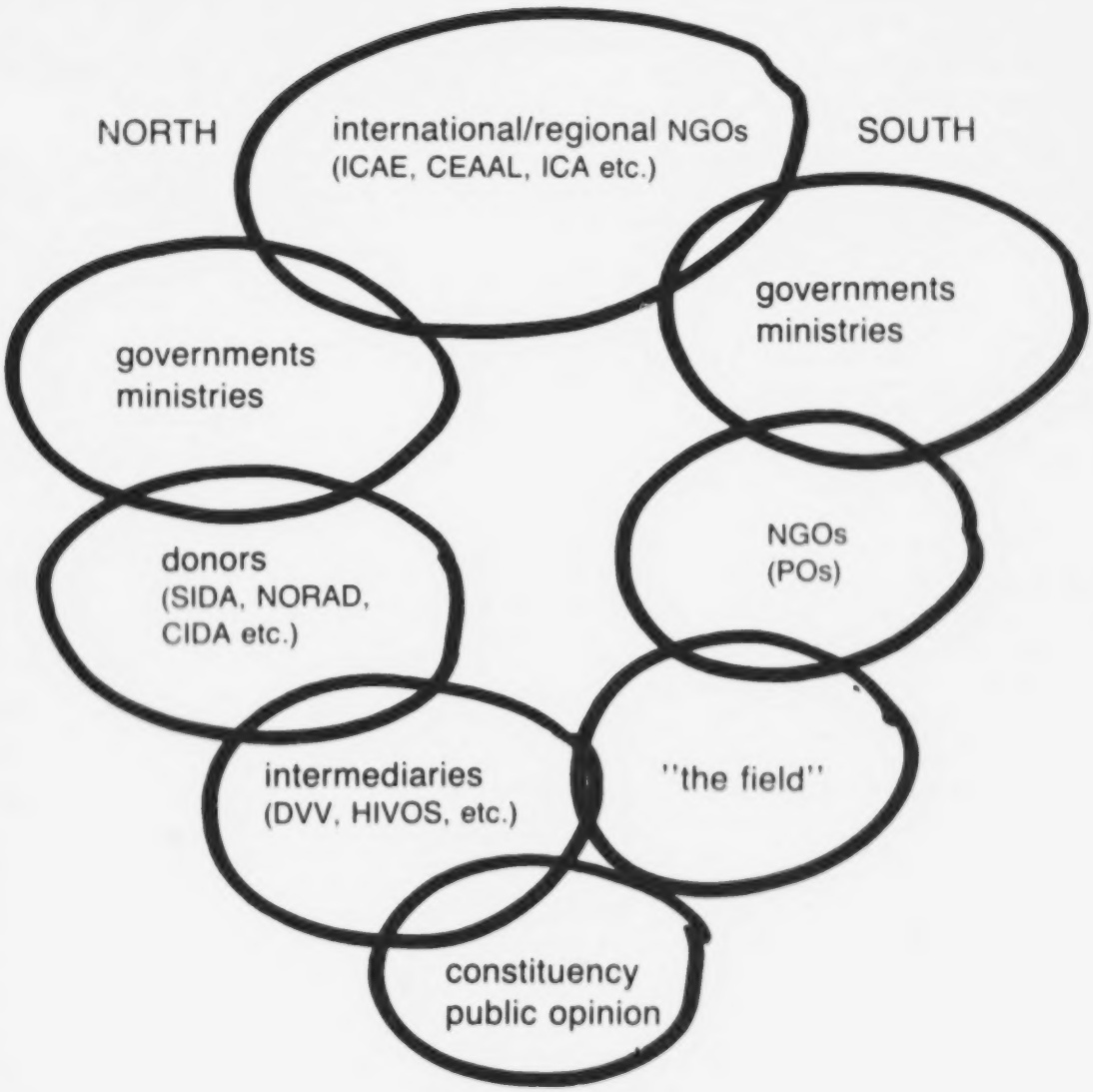
"My own feeling after many years of this kind of work is that I would rather work with donors or intermediary agencies in a straightforward and honest way which recognizes the power relationships for what they are and does not pretend to be something else. We can respect the principles and ways of working of people in government agencies without having to put all of us in a kind of fantasy world of partnership which actually obscures our actual roles. On the other hand one needs to be very careful not to pre-judge or underestimate the individual commitment of people who may work in quite unequal types of organizations." (p 16)

On the other hand they should not be looked upon as separate entities operating as totally independent bodies. Rather as a chain:

"The aid chain for adult education and development is one of the few examples which show that international solidarity is feasible. The links of this chain can be found in every region

"You give us the money and we will give you meaningful policies; that's what we mean by exports."

of the globe and in different geographic and social locations. The base groups or 'beneficiaries', on one hand, and the donors on the other, make up the extremes of this chain. In the agencies of international assistance and cooperation, private or governmental, (AIA) in the North, and the promotion organizations (PO) in the South, are found in the middle of the chain. Their commitment to the cause of the oppressed people of the world and a common methodology for action unites them." (Vio Grossi p1)



Donors

At the Kungälv conference the following donors were present:
CIDA, Canada
DANIDA, Denmark
FINNIDA, Finland
ODA, UK
NORAD, Norway
SIDA, Sweden

In the sense of channelling funds from governments for development efforts the Commonwealth Secretariat is also regarded as a donor, while organizations like the British Council, NOVIB, HIVOS, DSE and DSV are treated as funding agencies, occupying an intermediary position.

Not everybody working with these organizations will accept the term "donor", at least not without qualifications. Here is a dissenting voice:

"I don't myself appreciate the expression donor. With that comes a whole package, I would say, of things: you can relate donor to aid, to charity, to a very old humanitarian approach to international cooperation. So, even if I've used that concept myself . . . I would prefer to talk about CIDA as an international cooperation agency. Because I share a lot of the analysis that has been done, saying that the international relations are such that the developed countries drain resources from the Third World countries, and only a small part of these resources are then re-transferred through the channels of international cooperation. That process appears to me not as a relation from donor to recipient, but a process of partially giving back what has been taken. But neither myself nor other people participating in this conference can reorganize or restructure what already exists. So I have to admit that within that general system I'm sitting on one side of the table, and I have to assume that responsibility and that role. But I prefer to be called a representative of an agency of international cooperation and not a donor." (Beaulieu, interview)

After this being said, we can move on to the general question how these donor agencies distribute funds for international adult education work. They don't implement programmes and projects they support, but channel funds to executing agencies through three different channels. In the case of CIDA:

"There is the multinational channel. We support programmes of the UNDP, we support programmes of UNESCO; and the International Institute for the Planning of Education for example does some work in adult education that is financed by UNESCO, and in addition to the support we give UNESCO we give support to the IIPE. There is the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, and that's supported by our mutlinational programme.

At the bilateral level the approach is more integrated. By that I mean that adult education will be a component of sectoral projects, in agriculture and forestry eg., instead of being a sector by itself. That is really attractive, because it can mean that instead of having just a few projects in adult education all the 1,400 projects — there are 1,400 projects supported by CIDA — all these projects will have an adult education component, but unfortunately by using this approach it means that adult education will lose a certain visibility. And when a problem crops up in a project, when there is a shortage of money, depending on the orientation of the director, the adult education component that had been planned can disappear progressively, if the project is managed by someone who is not completely convinced of the importance of adult education. There are some important projects in adult education at the bilateral level but the transsectoral approach may diminish the visibility of these programmes.

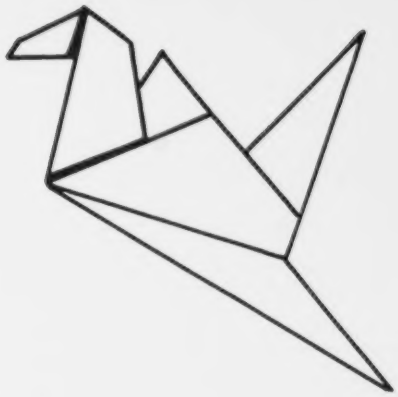
At the NGO level, there are 200 NGOs in Canada specializing in international cooperation supported by CIDA. There are about 1,500 institutions in Canada that receive some support, and a lot of them are involved in adult education. I'm thinking of all the cooperatives; a lot of coops in Canada receive special support for their programmes of international cooperation. And a lot of these are programmes of training and formation; and some people working in coops in Third World countries come and work for a while in Canada — that kind of exchange. Most universities and colleges in Canada have their own programmes of interrelation with universities and colleges in Third World countries. They most of the time use that kind of programme for training and seminars, related to adults. So in the NGO sector there are also

lots of programmes in adult education. There's also the "INGO" programme, supporting the ICAE, the CEEAL and the African Council of Adult Education by a three year programme. That started three years ago, and it's now under evaluation. I think that CIDA is quite pleased, and I have no indication that this support will be diminished or eliminated." (Beaulieu, interview)

In the conference paper on Swedish support to adult education programmes, SIDA similarly states three different types of adult education assistance:

"Through the Education Division, national adult education programmes, in particular literacy/post-literacy programmes, are supported in a couple of countries. This assistance is granted to the Ministry in charge, usually the Ministry of Education, for planning and implementaion on a national scale. In 1984/85 the Education Division supported adult education programmes with a total of SEK 37 million. — - -

During recent years SIDA is supporting an increasing number of integrated development projects. These projects which should be based on the active participation of the people concerned will necessarily have to include a number of mobilizing and education activities for adults. These education activities range from consciousness-raising to the transfer of certain techniques, from literacy to village leadership training. The programmes are specifically planned to fit into a particular development project. They are concentrated to restricted geographic areas. - - -



Another substantial part of SIDA's aid directed to adult education programmes is channelled through NGOs.

A large number of Swedish missionary organizations are supporting literacy and other non-formal adult education programmes as part or their village development or general education projects. In financial terms, however, the two most important NGOs involved in adult education are the Trade Union and the Cooperative Movement. Technical and financial support is provided to Third World trade unions and cooperative unions/societies to enable them to educate and mobilize their members through consciousness-raising campaigns, literacy classes and courses in basic book-keeping, employment legislation etc.

In 1984/85 approximately 43 MSEK were spent on adult education through NGOs." (SIDA p 2-3)

Another method is using a main "intermediary" for assisting adult education efforts in the Third World. In Great Britain ODA says that:

"The main channel for providing aid to education is through the British Council, although certain of the major British voluntary agencies (OXFAM, CATHOD, Christian Aid and the Save The Children Fund) are also important in the adult education sector since they are major partners of ODA under the Joint Funding Scheme. Under this scheme the ODAn matches — usually on a 'Pound for Pound' basis - contributions made by British voluntary agencies to long term development projects. The four agencies mentioned above receive annual allocations under this scheme and submit quarterly lists with brief details of the projects which they have financed using the money. The

education projects are usually quite small -in 1985/86 38 adult education projects were financed at a cost to the scheme of some £120,000 — 3.5% of the money available to these agencies under the scheme." (Dobson p 3)

Nearly all donors concerned, stress that in choosing one channel or the other, one method or the other, it is never a matter of either-or. Possibly with the exception of the Commonwealth Secretariat which states that:

"Since the Commonwealth Secretariat is a government organization our dealings with developing member countries is the governments. In this respect NGOs from any member country wishing to deal with us must go through their parent government ministries. If, on the other hand, the Commonwealth Secretariat wants to identify an NGO for a particular need, the necessary contacts will be made through the government." (Mbiti p 5)

They point out that the different approaches have their inherent advantages and drawbacks, but that the choice is not entirely free, as they can only respond to requests from various quarters:

"In our programme countries the choice between governments and NGOs is very simple. Because if they (governments in programme countries) want to have Swedish support for their efforts in enhancing adult education, we usually give it, at least we start a dialogue to see if we can find common terms of cooperation. Unfortunately not so many of our programme countries have asked us to support their adult education activities. Last year only 11% of the budget for education was allocated for adult education. In order to stimulate Swedish NGOs and in order to reach a much greater number of countries — there are 17 programme countries — and in order also to reach the grassroots in a better way than some governments are able to do, we also feel that aid thorugh the Swedish NGOs is important." (SIDA, interview)

In other instances — Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau - there is no choice, as there are no NGOs in the country to work with, the state (or the party) being in complete control of all development efforts.

There are also things the state can do that the NGOs cannot. Nelly Stromquist puts it this way:

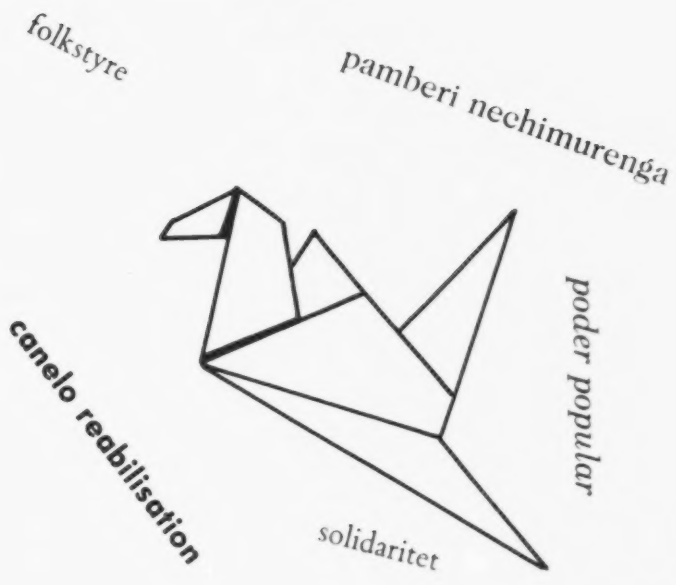
"The state is supposed to be a neutral vehicle for the articulation of citizens' interests and the distribution of resources. Because of its large size and relative stability compared to other social institutions, the state is expected to be able to carry out comprehensive actions: since its ministries and local offices touch many parts of the national territory, the state, in principle, is capable of carrying out massive projects, with almost nationwide coverage. Its national budget should allow for the implementation of large-scale projects or at least of projects that will be in effect over several years. Its personnel, on the average much better educated than the rest of the population, are supposed to represent competent human resources capable of transmitting to other social groups the skills and support necessary to undertake development efforts. Another feature of the state is that, since it proceeds according to national development plans, then the various activities it undertakes, including adult education, can be coordinated with a maximum of impact and a minimum of waste. As to proximity to target populations — i.e., the poor sectors of the population, peasants, women — the assumption is made that the state represents their interests and that these subjects indeed see the state as a supportive actor." (p 7)

Stromquist goes on to say that from:

". . . the donor agency's perspectives, one of the advantages of dealing with the state is that of dealing with stable institutions with well-identified chains of command and responsibility. These features are lacking in NGOs and will pose problems as more funds are disbursed to them." (p 18)

As it turns out, this is also the main channel for support of adult education programmes, despite the fact that many people in the field feel that there are many disadvantages working through the government channel — bureaucratic wrangling, unflexible procedures etc. This is how a CIDA spokesman put it:

"If I have myself any preference for one or the other . . . I'd have a preference for the NGO approach. But I would not avoid the possibilities of doing adult education through the other channels. Because, unfortunately, that's where the money is. About 35% of CIDA's bursary goes to multilateral, 40% to bilateral, about 15% to NGOs. And the amount of money spent in the bilateral channel won't change dramatically for the next five years, let's say, so even if I would prefer the NGO approach in adult education, I think it's awfully important to try to influence the bilateral



programmes in a way that more money will be spent on adult education. — - -

In my actual position at CIDA I have to intervene more in the bilateral programmes. Because the. agency is organized on a matrix basis. You have the operational branches and you have the service branches, and the professional branches are service branches. So we respond to requests we receive from the operational branches. And in the NGO division, as far as the size of their projects is concerned, they are not really important. They can finance projects, say from $50,000 to $500,000. So the managers in charge of these projects feel that they can handle these projects without asking for professional expertise. But in the bilateral programmes there you have projects from 1 to 10 million. When you plan projects of that size you may need some professional expertise, depending on the sector of activity of that project, or depending on the different components of your project. So the bilaterals may ask us much more to intervene and help them in the planning of their projects. That's why I'm saying that I don't work much actually with the NGO programmes. I intervene in the NGO sector when the project is of a certain size, or when they request us to give some assessment of the project." (Beaulieu interview)

That is one aspect of the matter. Another is that you can't generalize either about donors or NGOs, they are not all the same:

"We have different types of government organizations, and we should not put all of them in one basket and all the NGOs in another basket." (Beaulieu interview)

Because there are different opinions within an agency, different visions of development, of the value of adult education, different emphases on types of adult education — literacy, income generating, vocational etc. — which means that as an individual officer I can sometimes be in:

". . . a conflict situation within my own organization, that the people working in the technical services for instance are not ready to accept my view of or my approach to development, and that we are ourselves fighting within our own organization. So CIDA itself — not being unique I'd say — can't present a point of view that would be perfectly clear." (Beaulieu interview)

And there are so many NGOs, and you can't confer all the good qualities on all of them, because:

". . . within 1,700 organizations you'll find the best and the worst. You have here some really right-wing organizations, but until now the agency has not wanted to cut these programmes, out of respect for the autonomy of the NGOs. So, in the field of NGOs you have really interesting organizations, but organizations with little expertise. There are dozens of associations of professionals, like the Nurses' Association, like the Teachers' Association; they have one programme. here and there of international cooperation, so their secretariat has no corporate memory. These organizations are more turned towards their members in Canada. We can't say these professional organizations are grassroot oriented to any intervention in Third World countries, because it's not their objective. Their objective is first of all to serve their members, but they have thought that they could develop an interrelation with Third

World organizations; saying that NGOs are grassroot oriented would not apply to all NGOs.

And as we are talking of grassroot orientation, I think we should underline the fact that many Canadian NGOs have never intervened directly in Third World countries. They will receive requests, they will support these requests or not, according to their orientation, their goals, their objectives, but many of them will never send anyone overseas. They work on the base of partnership, corresponding with their partners by mail, and the staff has not developed any knowledge of the existing situation. For sure some organizations recruit some people who have had an experience with other organizations, but we can't say that these organizations, intervening only in the area of financing, have grassroot orientation. They are not present in the field. Still, that's a quality often recognized with an NGO. — - -

There are many things you can say in favour of the NGOs but I have sometimes difficulties in 'selling' them in the agency itself, because of the question of credibility. What is often said is that there is sometimes a lack of professionalism. NGOs have in the past recruited students coming directly from the universities, having no experience in the field of expertise, and because they pay lower salaries the NGOs can't recruit the best professionals in the different sectors of activity. Some NGOs lack certain credibility." (Beaulieu interview)

Nelly Stromquist underlines the necessity for the NGOs to establish routines to ensure accountability, because if these are lacking there will be problems if more funds are disbursed to them:

"The possibility of fraud, although not very high, is there. Anectodal information indicates that in certain countries, Sri Lanka for instance, several unscrupulous persons are 'jumping the NGO bandwagon' and setting up local groups with scant community support; these people reportedly do very little work but trick donors into believing that they are quite active in the community. The proper identification of NGOs should become therefore very important and steps must be taken to monitor their work and weed out the incompetent or false groups." (p 18)

But you must be able to trust the NGOs, even when procedures streamlined for government-to-government work can't be used effectively any longer, especially when you grant lump sums and don't go into details how money is spent. Because that means that:

". . . we lack information on what is happening. When I was trying to compile the report on what SIDA is doing in the field of adult education, and I called my colleagues in the NGO division, they did not know exactly. They said, you had better call the NGOs, but there are many hundreds of them. If we choose to work through NGOs we have to accept that we will lose control and information. We have to trust that something good is coming out of it, and I think there is." (Rosengart, SIDA interview)

Another spokeswoman of SIDA brought up a different aspect on the situation in the same interview:

"What I thought was very interesting in this experience, when I started working at SIDA in Mozambique, was to see how SIDA was complaining of the inefficiency of the Mozambiquan part in using the support, but then I discovered that SIDA had actually never informed or trained the Mozambiquan partners how SIDA works — how you write reports and make requests etc. It was quite a long struggle to make the Mozambiquans understand how SIDA works, how it is divided into sections and what is required; when that was more or less achieved, and a lot of progress hade been made there, the obstacles within SIDA got revealed. That actually there were a lot of bottlenecks within SIDA that SIDA was not even recognizing." (Lind)

But:

"I've seen the handbook of the NGO division, and they now try to state their rules very clearly, and also they make the rules much simpler than before, so I think it's not impossible at all for the NGOs to know the SIDA requirements. SIDA also simplifies the whole process by giving lump sums and support big programmes, and we don't go into detail like we did before." (Rosengart)

There are also instances when a donor agency wants to bypass the government for political reasons, wanting to carry out adult education activities among the people, despite political constraints.

". . . then working with NGOs also becomes very important. That is happening now in Bangladesh, where SIDA is trying to find more NGOs to support, because of the ineffiency of the aid through the government. Other examples are the situations in Chile and South Africa, where SIDA gives so called humanitarian support. I mean it's not labelled·

education but it can include that. It's important to keep that channel open as well." (SIDA interview)

Finally:

"Few agencies of international assistance carry out effectively development education in their own countries. Not only does the level of consciousness or awareness of people in the North remain low regarding the causes of poverty and oppression in the Third World, but also the horizontal exchange from South to North that should flow along the aid chain is halted." (Vio Grossi p 23)

But SIDA maintains that:

"We can't do much more than we actually are doing right now in the field of informing public opinion at home, but I think that one reason for our increasing support of the NGOs is that we want the NGOs to do this information work. And we know that if they get involved, if they get personal contact with the NGOs in the developing countries, that will give them a lot of stimulation for information work at home, among their members, and also fund raising." (SIDA interview)

And in Canada the NGO division within CIDA has got a special programme called:

". . . PPP — public participation programme. And that is a programme directly oriented towards the Canadian public, and you can receive support from that programme for organizing seminars about Third World countries in Canada, organizing specialized conferences, publishing articles in reviews and newspapers, producing some specialized bulletin on international cooperation — any NGO, or any international organization like ICAE can receive some specific support for activities oriented towards the Canadian public. There's also the PR department of CIDA that produces every month a review on different subjects . . . CIDA also broadcasts some movies and slide-shows on development cooperation, and anyone in any school in Canada can use these resources for free. — - —

CIDA also finances the production of movies, with the Radio Canada Corporation, and there is a programme on television every week, called North-South, that talks about international cooperation, and that is supported by CIDA." (Beaulieu interview)

The Intermediaries

The NGOs both in the North and in the South are links in the middle of the chain. This means they are pulled in various directions, depending on the forces at play in the given circumstances. One of the groups described their situation in this way:

"You have the donors at one end, quite often a big donor such as SIDA or the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation, or ODA; at the other end you have the beneficiaries or the recipients or the partners, but in-between you have these intermediary agencies, and they are quite frequently in a difficult situation.

From the donors' perspective they belong to the recipient side, for the beneficiaries they belong to the donor side. So they have a double role to play. In relationship to beneficiaries, to partners in the Third World, be it governments or NGOs, they are the partners and they cooperate and they are responsible for on-going projects. They sit in one boat. But in relation to the donor they are completely dependent, while quite frequently the partners in developing countries regard them as being the donor.

We have to take into consideration that these intermediary orgnizations are an entity by themselves, they are in the middle and the role they have to play is rather tricky. They have no power in either direction, because they entirely depend on a partnership with the recipient. Their programme is the programme of the intermediary agency. If they want to fulfil their task they depend on the beneficiaries completely. On the other hand they are responsible for money, etc." (Muller, reporting from groups)

More or less the same thing can be said of the NGOs working in the South, what Vio Grossi calls Promotion Organizations:

"They are placed in a dilemma: On the one hand, they must respond to the needs of the local communities, on the other hand, they must fulfil the requirements of the international assistance agencies. In other words, the POs constantly must meet three objectives:

1. that the project be successful at a local level,

2. that it will appear as such to the international assistance agency, and

3. that this will guarantee continued project support, hence survival as a promotion organization." (p 16)

"They sit in one boat" — this is how Janny van Es describes the common interests of NGOs when operating together in the field:

"As to being both recipient and donor I'll talk about the Latin American situation which I know best. I think that in most cases the Latin American intellectuals who are running alternative support centres for the grass roots groups, are very much in the same position as we are, in the sense that they are being seen by these groups as a foreign body. So I think that on the one hand there is a grassroots movement, with the various initiatives, and on the other there are people trying to help them — HIVOS with finance and in some cases with consultancy — and the local intermediate organization with their capacity for assisting with training, with organization, and also with financing, because they receive funds from us. And I think in many cases our Latin American colleagues and we are running a joint operation, for the grass roots groups." (interview)

When it comes to receiving and transmitting funds, the flow of grants, we can take Holland as an example:

"The money comes from the Dutch tax-payers and we respond with the annual reports. The annual reports go to the parliamentarians and if there are any doubts or questions they are raised in Parliament after implementing a one year programme. Once the funds are transmitted they become private funds of each of the foundations or associations. We are really very free to operate independently from the formal government line.

The formal government line is also very interesting. As various organizations here have indicated, there is a tendency to ever more conservative governments. This is true for the Dutch situation as well, but, the conservative Dutch government is very much in favour of 'private initiative', so our budget has been rising very steeply in the past few years. We think in a sense that this is an irresponsibility on the part of the Dutch govenment. Before, they assumed their own responsibility for strengthening the position of the Third World countries on the world market on the one hand, and on the other hand taking their part and their responsibility for the struggle

against poverty. Now they have left the whole struggle to the private organizations and we think that this is a very wrong thing to do." (van Es, interview)

To take her own organization as an individual example, this is how HIVOS is funding their work:

"Our funds come from the Dutch government to a large extent; I think 85%. These funds are meant only for private institutions in the Third World, so we don't normally work with governments. We have also been funded by the Humanistic League in the Netherlands, and by a humanistic social welfare organization. The third constituent organization is a fund that was financing the education of non-church orphans, orphans for whom there were no facilities. This was around 1900, 1920, and the fund was sitting in a bank, and they offered us the interest of that fund; it was a two million gilder fund, so the interest is quite considerable.

Now, these three constituent organizations form our immediate background. Apart from that there are also contributions from quite a few people who think it is very important to support for instance, indigenous groups, and help them strengthen their own culture and to survive as cultural entities.

That is an important line, and for that line there is a lot of support from the Dutch public." (van Es interview)

To make a comparison with Germany this is how Wolfgang Leumer describes the position of DVV:

"I think our association is in quite a unique position within the funding or sponsoring community, in that we are an NGO on the one hand, and we are sort of deeply imbedded in our own adult education system. We have to decide whether it should be a remedial system, so that we try to integrate people into the constraints of a society, or whether it should help to become subversive, by using pedagogy as a subversive element at the same time. Both directions are there and are discussed in Germany.

Because we have these terms of reference in Germany, we are therefore regarded as a competent agency in the field of adult education, and therefore receive quite a lot of funds from the Ministry of Economic Cooperation, which in turn abstains from creating a department on adult education in its own donor agency system. — - — We are free to choose our partners — so called partners — and most of the projects are of the bilateral type." (interview)

At the other end, in the South, finances usually are attracted from all sorts of sources, and those responsible for grants management in the NGOs often have to spend a lot of time on fundraising at the expense of other, in a sense more constructive or productive tasks, such as the actual field work, for which they are trained. Here is an example from India:

"Quite a bit of our funding comes from international sources, some from bilateral. agencies, mostly from international private foundations. We try as a matter of principle to raise some money from Indian sources, but at the present time that does not amount to more than 10-15% of total costs. The rest of it is money from the outside. Some of it comes through joint projects or programmes like the International Council, but most of it comes from direct project funding from other international sources.

The real problem is the type of resources available in a country like India. It is not that money is not available — money is available. The government has a lot of money. It is giving a lot of money to NGOs, and there are government-sponsored research funding organizations. There are various ministries that have money available for research, training etc. But there are two important reasons why it becomes difficult for an

organization like us (PRIA) to get a lot of money from Indian sources.

One is that, since most of the money is controlled by the state, we need to decide that we have to initiate the kind of work that will not openly or visibly be critical of the state, otherwise that support will not be easy to come by. Even in a benevolent state like India, where there is much more political space than let's say in Chile, even there, there is an increasing trend which says that if you want money from us, then you will have to behave.

This problem spreads in another way, and that is not so direct. For exemple, massive amounts of money are available in the country for social science research support, but when we go to these institutions with a participatory research methodology, then of course that's a different matter. They say that it is unscientific; it is not what should be done; it is too ideological; it is not objective — all these kinds of objections. Then we have very limited options. Either we play the deception game — we go along and tell them, no, no, we do serious scientific research — get the money and do whatever we want. Which is not going to go on for long because they will find out; or we try to convince them and influence them." (Tandon interview)

The "deception game" can take many forms and disguises. It is often felt to be both a moral and a practical strain for those who get involved in it:

"In spite of the rhetoric of the agencies and the intermediary funders, all of us who manage to survive and get funding have to learn that the first question to ask is 'what do they fund?' We will not waste our time working on a proposal or submission which does not fit the priorities of the funding agency. This would not be so bad except that the priorities tend to shift so often from area to area in both geographic terms and content terms.

For those of us who have worked to implement a planning process that works from the ground up, this is contradictory and leads to a sense of cynicism and distrust if not actual hostility at times!" (Hall p 14)

Here is a plea to get away from this insincerity, made by Vio Grossi:

"We must make an effort to — in Spanish we would say: sincere — the relationship. When a relationship is determined by project funding, the funders' words are disregarded after-

wards to meet the needs of the people. To quote an extreme example: When Pinochet's wife goes to the urban slums to deliver sewing-machines, I have seen women who take the machines for themselves but reject the contents of the speech of this lady. People are always ignoring funders' project criteria in order to meet their own needs.

The same is happening with NGOs. Sometimes they take the resources but they reject the speech; or the key words that are fashionable. For instance there is now a fad to have projects on women, on indigenous people, on ecology — so people who know these words they would put them there, and then they do what they like afterwards.

So why don't we 'sincere' this relationship? Transferring the axis of the relationship from projects to processes, meaning what's actually happening in the community, and how we can insert the aid in improving this process that the people by themselves are developing in their own interest." (interview)

There are other problems involved when funding agencies exert their influence, often through the cheque-book, in the realities of the South to make them fit a set of circumstances at home:

"One of the trends of the past five years has been the desire to have ever more direct impact on local development. This means that international, regional, national and even sub-national NGOs are by-passed as the link is made between a development NGO or a funding agency directly in the North with a village or other local activity in the South. This sometimes extends still further to what some refer to as the pornography of poverty, as poor children are 'adopted' by more wealthy people in the North. The latter involves sending people photos of 'their' children in return for annual contributions.

While useful for emotional kinds of fund-raising purposes, more often the images of poor helpless villagers undermine the creativity and existing genius in these people and the real reasons why such poverty exists. It also can undermine the efforts which are going on at international, regional and national levels to link people with similar problems in order to have a stronger voice. In other words, it cuts down on the building of democratic structures which could form a part of the counterbalance to larger national or international economic and political inequities.

Related to the tendency on the part of some agencies to penetrate directly to the local slum or village level is a desire on the part of some to want to link up all the recipients of a given agency in some kind of network, which is donor-based. It arises from goodwill and a certain logic. If an agency is working with 52 projects in Latin America, all of which are rural and concerned with similar goals, is it not logical to call them together and help them to form a network? The simple answer is, 'no'. These kinds of donor agency networks are most damaging and in fact often weaken or postpone the development of other regional or local political or solidarity networks. It is far better to support the autonomous local, national or international networks." (Hall p 15)

Judging from what spokespersons of the funding agencies said at the conference, they are well aware of the delicate balance that must be struck to maintain confidence and trust with their partners:

"I have learnt from my work so far that we should refrain from general recipes and not come up with our own ideas, speaking about universal concepts and what have you. What we should do is something which is probably known to all of us, and it also can describe a way we have to approach our

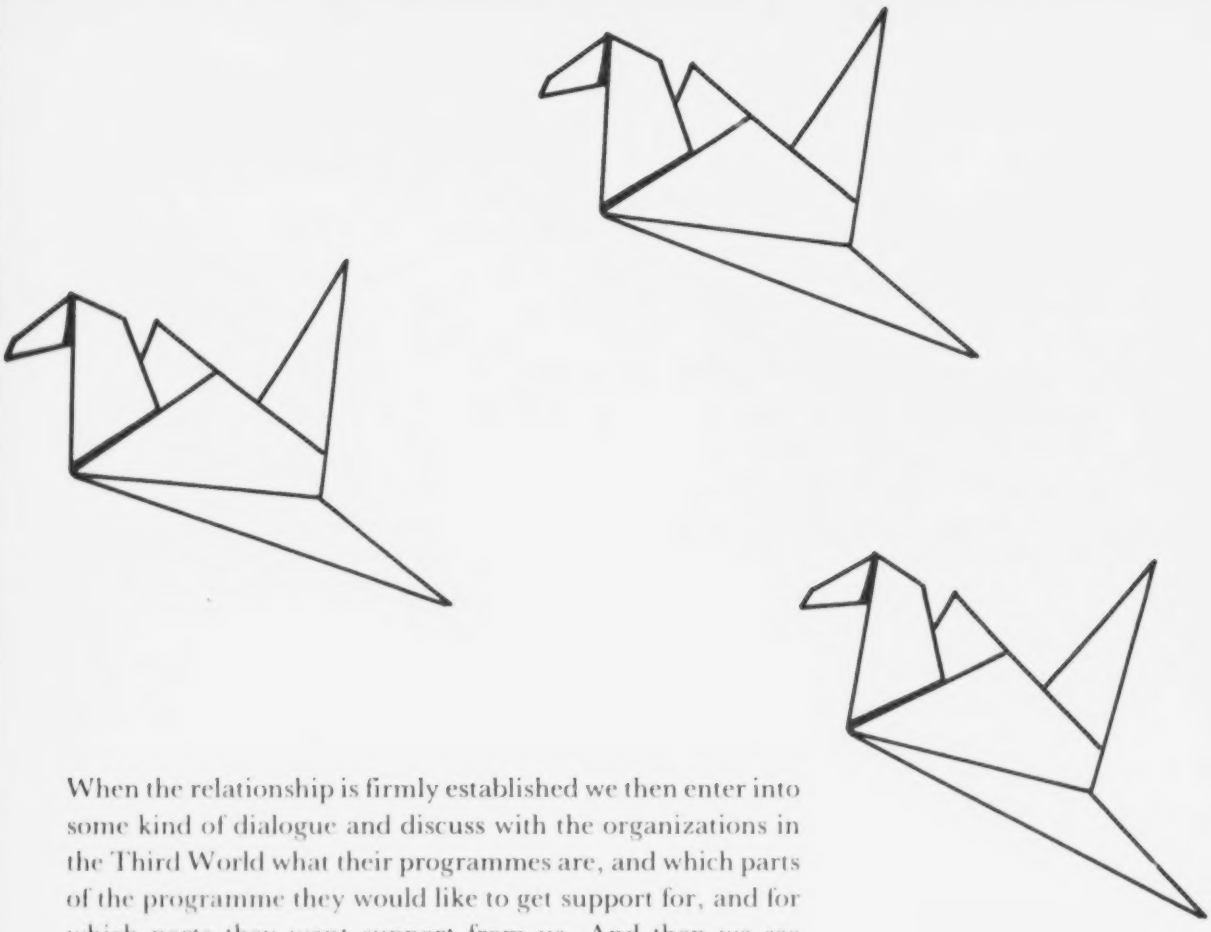
projects or programmatic work and the support of adult education activities with our friends and colleagues from Third World countries. That is, first of all to go there, listen, open your eyes, ears — and hearts as well. One has to be careful to make up a system of making contact, creating a kind of networking system, upon which the getting acquainted with each other can be established. As soon as you are acquainted you'll learn more about these new institutions, fresh, young institutions, with good ideas, a bit of lack of experience, but that is what adult education is all about, they learn because they do something. With this acquaintance, this getting to know each other, creating mutual confidence, you'll also be learning something about their worries, their problems, and their specific approaches in adult education.

You can then think about it, and you can compare it to your own experience, compare it to other on-going projects, and then make your assessment. Of course that does not mean that you'll spare your criticism, you'll have to criticize when you think it is necessary. It is criticism in the sense of solidarity. I take my partner seriously, therefore I criticize him. I don't just accept anything that he presents to me. In due course of that debate and that dialogue I think we can work out where the common areas of cooperation might be. — — —

So, no general concepts, very open, and I think that is what adult education should be all about: to be very open towards new ideas, towards new issues, towards new partners, towards new people - - — comparing a given proposal by a given partner organization in a Third World country with what we know. This reference is again something that can be done jointly. It is through this dialogue, I think, that we can come to an idea or a concept of what adult education in a given circumstance, in a given country, could look like." (Leumer interview)

This is how the Dutch agency HIVOS goes about it in Latin America:

"We don't actually identify either projects or programmes. We have objectives as an institution and they are mainly centred on emancipation and liberation processes. We go out into the Third World and interview people from various private institutions and we start relationships with the organization whose objectives come closest to our own. With these organizations we usually start a relationship on the basis of a trial project to see if the relationship suits both them and ourselves.



When the relationship is firmly established we then enter into some kind of dialogue and discuss with the organizations in the Third World what their programmes are, and which parts of the programme they would like to get support for, and for which parts they want support from us. And then we see whether within our criteria these programmes could be financed.

We felt that it's only possible to work in an area if you have sufficient knowledge and a sufficient capacity for gathering information about that area. So the number of countries where HIVOS works is more limited than with most donor agencies. Eg. in the whole of South America we only work in Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

After starting work in an area we define groups that we want to help. The criterion is not only that they need help but also that the help will enable them to get greater access to power structures by strengthening their organization to become able to express themselves as a political group, which is present in their immediate surroundings. We start from the very small village level, and we think that by strengthening local groups, these groups become capable of uniting, of structuring themselves into bigger entities. So having influence first at a zonal, regional level, and then later on at the national level as well." (van Es interview)

Here we enter the sphere of politics, the power game, that is, the relationship between the NGOs and the governments in the South. A couple of groups discussed this issue:

"The state, because of its size, could fulfil a distribution and allocation role, while the NGOs, because of the very way they operate, have a better chance of working at grassroot level. There should be a closer interaction between the two. The NGOs could perform the task of mobilizing the community, organizing and experimenting with various innovations and projects, but there has to be a link between the state and the NGOs, a symbiotic relationship, because of resources, etc." (Leweravu, reporting from groups)

"In Latin America the ruling class captured the government and then government captured the state. NGOs came into existence in an action of self-defence and in opposition to the ruling class, to government which had captured the state. So basically many NGOs in Latin America are in opposition to government. While in North America and in Europe, in most cases perhaps, NGOs work in line with government, funded partly or to a great extent by government. In Africa NGOs don't so far play a major role, except churches and trade unions." (Muller reporting from groups)

Whenever the NGOs act in opposition to government there is bound to be tension of one kind or the other:

"Therefore the NGOs are symbolizing, in India certainly, a major forum of dissent and critique. The parties do that, but the parties operate within the parliamentary framework; so they will go inside Parliament and make a very critical speech, but the NGOs do it in small locations, in all corners of the country. NGOs do the critique with the people and that's frightening; that's dangerous to any state, particularly in a country where you have layers of the state, where you have the local government, the provincial government, and the national government, three different layers of ruling elite being threatened.

As a result we have had examples in India, in the last 4-5 years, if the state has been supporting an NGO, suddenly the grant won't come. We have what we call the crisis of the second instalment. The first instalment of the government grant always comes in time, the second does not — and you are in the soup. It doesn't come partly because of bureaucratic inertia and delay, and sometimes very clearly for political reasons. Because the interest of a local, ruling party member has been challeng-

"I can't communicate horizontally with somebody who has got the cheque-book."

ed by the work of an NGO in the area. So the state funding stops. Imagine the plight of a small NGO running pillar to post, going to court etc.

In the Indian context there is now a very interesting, explicit move to create a national council of NGOs through an act of parliament. And the way it is being promoted is that a handful of NGO representatives have been manipulated to present this as if the idea is coming from the entire NGO sector. A strong garrote is being dangled with it. The garrote is that the state will give more money under its various programmes to NGOs provided we submit ourselves to this national council. It is clearly a very dangerous regulatory move, which — if it is enacted as legislation — is going to give complete control by the state over the NGOs. There is also a simultanous move to regulate foreign contributions inside the country. If this council comes about, the state can change the foreign contribution laws and route all foreign contributions to this national council. Most of us will then join the corporate world.

This is what I have heard happened in Peru and Brazil. Last year something like this happened in a minor way in Indonesia. In Bangladesh there is increasing control. If it happens in India also, we are talking of a very difficult time ahead. — - -

We have to demand increasingly now, particularly of the bilateral agencies, that they must also have a dialogue with our governments in the South around the role the NGOs are playing." (Tandon interview)

So what can be done from the Northern end; what are people there willing to do; how much can they commit themselves?

"Once problems crop up, when certain institutions become too subversive and get a smack from being politically unacceptable to a given government - India may be a good case — then we still would stick to our partners. If there is anything going wrong, we would use the international community, say through the ICAE, to ring the bell and make a thought-provoking statement. I can't really assess to what degree assistance from the outside is helpful to these kinds of social organizations or these social activist groups, but I think the fact that international money is involved, and the international community backing them up is at times a very valuable — or invaluable — instrument for them to keep afloat.

Take the case of an Indian organization that we are supporting (Seva Mandir) that is producing a lot of political literature, very drastic — the money-lenders being blamed as

56

well as the police and others — so people are really getting more conscious of their social situation. Of course there is a lot of pressure from the local government not to be too outspoken, but the fact they know there is a lot of outward funding coming in, not only from us but from other organizations as well, they have a kind of shield or umbrella, and it will not be so easy to do away with them. This is also one reason why we thought it is OK for us to start something going in Chile, because it may help that local organization which is not only involved in Chilean matters but also in sub-regional, Latin American issues, to strengthen their back and have some outward organization to lean on. I think that's an important aspect of the work that we do, and it will of course also influence the choice of partners to a certain extent.''(Leumer interview)

Whisky and Whiskers

a conference story

as rendered by Maria Villariba

The story starts with Kim who is a Korean visiting India for the first time. Being a visitor he of course started cleaning himself by brushing his teeth with a toothbrush and toothpaste. His friend who is an Indian, steeped in the rich culture of India, gave him advice and said: the only way to clean your teeth efficiently is to clean them with tiger's whiskers.

It sounded exotic enough and like appropriate technology for someone like me. Kim was persuaded to part with some of his money, and he said:

— OK.let's buy some tiger's whiskers.

But his good friend said:

— No, we are not going to buy the tiger's whiskers, we are going to secure them. The money you gave me will be for whisky.

Kim said:

— What for? Who's going to drink the whisky?

His friend said:

— We are going to the Zoo and we have to give the guard some whisky. That's the only way we can get some whiskers.

Off they went to the Zoo. They gave the whisky to the guard, and of course the guard was happy enough to look the other way while they were approaching the tiger. Fortunately for them the tiger was asleep at the time. So his friend said:

— The only thing you have got to do is to pull two or three whiskers from the sleeping tiger, and then we will be off.

So Kim started pulling the whiskers. And of course the process of pulling the whiskers woke up the tiger. And the tiger growled and almost bit off his hand. So they had to run. That was the end of the whiskers — and the whisky.

The point is: did Kim waste his money? Was the idea of cleaning one's teeth with whiskers a good one, or did it make Kim think that his good friend was fooling him or bating him with something just so that he would part with his money? Was the whole experience a waste of time? Because they did not get the whiskers, nor did they have the whisky.

That put me into a process of making parallels, with Kim as the recipient of a very good idea, like adult education, and he just happened to have the funds, so he also assumed the role of donor. And to his friend as the local NGO, because he was reared in the community and in that culture, I think the idea of having whiskers for toothbrush was a product of his assessment of the resources of his native village. So in a sense the donor, Kim, and the friend, the adult educator, started off on the right track, looking at the resources of the village and at the same time using money from the outside to secure them.

But the point they missed was that they could have got an animal trainer, a tiger trainer, to get the whiskers for them, and they could have given the whisky to him. So, the idea may still work, even if they had not been able to test it.

When people here began to be confused as to whether putting someone in the box of donor agency, and putting another in the box of NGO, that's a very devisive transaction or a very polarizing technique. I narrated the story again because I asked them whether they saw each other also as the tiger: Who is the tiger in the story? I mean if you put the NGO and the donor agency on opposite poles they would of course growl at each other, and not see any wisdom in sharing whiskers, nor whisky.

There are other parallels. The guard could have been the government in that country, getting the funds and not even assisting the poor guys in securing what they wanted. So there has been a lot of discussion lately what people should do or should not do. But I think that the process is not healthy when you polarize people or you put one hat on each other's head.

African Panel

Halimatou Traoré, Mali
Lloyd Mapfumo, Zimbabwe
Taka Mudariki, Zimbabwe
Alexander Ndiho, Kenya

In all these three countries — in a sense representing West, East and Southern Africa — adult education is the poor relation, suffering from lack of funds and personnel.

In Zimbabwe adult education has a 1% share of a Z$ 500 million education budget. And this section of the Ministry of Education is desperately understaffed, with one single officer trying to deal with activities involving 1 million people. Donor agencies like UNICEF, DSE, SIDA and NORAD have entered the field, but they are sometimes felt to be rigid in their approach; they should support people, because people are needed to get things done, and they should sponsor more local initiatives than they do at present. There is still a "horse and rider relationship", with the donor firmly in the saddle.

There is no tradition in Zimbabwe of popular movements in adult eduction (nor in other fields, due to the war situation during the liberation struggle), consequently no strong political lobby to further this cause. Initiatives are now taken to build up organizations, especially in the rural areas. But there are many practical obstacles such as transport, teaching materials, even spectacles . . .

In Kenya a department of adult education was formed in 1979 which got resources to create a network of officers in provinces and districts. 5 000 part time teachers and 2 000 volunteers were recruited, mainly to carry out a literacy campaign, but also to staff multi-purpose service centres. Adult education is also offered in the fields of family planning, forestry, environment, and agriculture. Grants have been recieved from DSE, SIDA, IBRD and CIDA, but so far in very limited amounts. Also in Kenya there are few NGOs, but the ministry is willing to cooperate with everyone who comes along.

To live is to learn and to learn is to try to live better.
(Julius K Nyerere)

In the case of Mali a women's training programme was presented, covering some 70 villages with some 33 000 inhabitants, which had been visited and all of them surveyed. Four areas or major needs came out in this survey: problems of health and nutrition; training in agriculture; delivery of children (maternity clinics situated far away); literacy.

Courses at women's centres were tailored to meet these needs. Women come to stay at a centre, attending a course either in health and hygiene, midwifery, or a session on functional literacy, done in the local language, Bambara. Women were paid a small amount to cover thier costs. Then they go back to their home village, and three months later there is a follow-up visit to give them support and advice. There are many practical problems, including no tools, no credit, scarcity of water . . .

The Audiotechs of Mali

The library is to most people in the Third World a meaningless institution, as they can't read. Instead of books being sources of knowledge and quarries of human experience they become dead papers, decorated with a pattern of black dots.

Despite great efforts, despite vast sums being spent on teaching people how to read and write, the number of illiterates has not decreased in the world, it has risen. The realm of the written word has remained a precinct for the educated and ruling elite, quite often a tool of domination.

It is easy to make the mistake of regarding the illiterate stupid and ignorant. But this person may have a lot of knowledge, may be both wise and learned. But the medium is oral. If the spoken word could be registered and distributed, common people would have a much better chance of asserting themselves.

This is the general background to the establishment of village audiotechs in Mali. Majid Rahnema, involved in this scheme as a UNDP consultant, decribes the way they go about it:

"If every village would have a small place which could in effect be a library for the non-literate, where people could produce, locally, these 'sound books', in their own vernacular language, choosing: the contents of the 'books', then many things could be solved.

We could start building a kind of oral school, with people's total autonomy over the curriculum and how they would like to organize their education, whether adult or child. Such an audiotech should exist in every village.

The way we go about it is, to come to a village, explain the whole idea to the villagers, and when they have decided they want it, then 'a committee of oral knowledge' is created that is to take over the responsibility for it, and decide what is needed. Where are the books to be stored? In what language? What length of time? How to use them? Where would the conference room be (normally the palaver tree in the village)? Where would the audiotech itself be kept? (Often it is felt that the simplest and cheapest solution is in the house of the village chief).

At present there are about 100 villages in Mali with their own

audiotech. The only thing you need is one or two small tape recorders and a few cassettes, that's all. It is not costly, and it is simple technology.

All these different audiotechs are connected with a central audiotech in Bamako, which keeps a copy of all the cassettes produced locally, in case the original is lost or damaged. The recordings are classified in two main cathegories: what we call traditional and cultural knowledge, mainly related to the people's own knowledge, the knowledge that exists in the community — history, geography, usage of herbs, etc. (preserving the culture as it is disappaearing); and functional knowledge — how to use better mud for building houses, how to make vaccinations, etc. — and these are sometimes made by professionals from outside.'' (Rahnema interview)

Of course the audiotech is not the solution to all educational or communicational problems in rural Africa. The intention is not to push the libraries out of business, but to complement the written word. It has turned out that the audiotechs actually have made people motivated to learn how to read, as they soon discover the narrow scope of the spoken word, the constraints of the oral tradition. And when a person is really motivated to learn how to read and write, it is — as Paulo Freire has shown — done in a few weeks, a month. No grand campaigns are needed; nor being forced into this by a very rigid formal school system which in a sense produces illiterates rather than literates, as most kids drop out after a year or two and quickly relapse into a state of illiteracy, discouraged for life by their sad experiences.

How does the audiotech work in practice? Has it yielded any practical results? Here is an example concerning the thorny question of divorce that had become a great concern for chiefs and other responsible people in the villages:

''The seven elders, including the chief, of the village of Kabala came together to discuss the matter around a microphone. They reached the conclusion that one of the main causes of divorce was that young men were spending far too much money on dowry and on marriage ceremonies, but they were doing this because they were part of a culture demanding a man to show respect for his wife — and for himself — by spending that much. You could not tell them that they should not do it, because they knew very well they had to, socially; you could not make a law forbidding this practice.

But if the word came from elders, if the elders were to tell the parents of a wedding couple that this is not a must, then they might listen.

And that is exactly what happened. The elders made a kind of proclamation in 9 or 10 points on tape, pleading with everyone not to spend this big amount of money, or at least spend it on the real needs of the couple. And it seems to have worked. For the cassettes were passed from one village to another, and people were discussing the issue very much.

Here you have a problem I think nobody in a central planning insitution would have thought of as a problem, but the fact that people tackled it themselves shows that it existed, and they found a solution.'' (Rahnema interview)

Asian Panel

Faruque Ahmed, Bangladesh
Kaniz Fatema, Bangladesh
Akanisi Leweravu, Fiji
Rajesh Tandon, India

"Asia" in this context includes the Pacific, that is, anything and everything between Suez and Hawaii, and it is, of course, slightly absurd trying to cover this vast area in a few minutes' conference presentation. This feat was done however and here are a few pages reflecting what was being said.

The Asian and South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE) came into being in 1964 and is thus one of the oldest regional organizations in the South. Over the last decade or so its activities have been far more vibrant than in its early years, but by and large ASPBAE has been able to perform three functions:

1. Support local initiatives in several countries of the region, not just financially, but technically, professionally, in content and in practice, in the form of workshops, training programmes, local adult education work etc.

2. Provide opportunities, through its travel scholarships, for sub-regional workshops for people working on similar concerns and issues to come together, either in a sub-region like South Asia, South East Asia, Australia/New Zealand/Pacific, or across the whole region. And this has been a very important contribution by ASPBAE, because it has been able to give adult educators a regional perspective, help them see that the forces that keep a large segment of the population illiterate in India are perhaps the same set of forces which do the same thing in Thailand or the Philippines. This kind of regional understanding of what we are up against has been possible only through regional exchange and regional workshops.

3. Exchange of materials and experiences, practices and ideas; its courier service has been one of the best regional exchange machanisms coming out for about a decade or so.

In Bangladesh NGO work stems from rehabilitation and relief

work after the liberation war in 1971, so it is quite a recent phenomenon. A few years later it was phased into development programmes as an alternative to growth-oriented strategies, which had failed, as the presumed trickle-down effect was turned downside up into some kind of trickle-up effect, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Ths NGOs made strong criticism of this approach, and therefore tried to find an alternative strategy for development, inspired by what was happening elsewhere in the world:

Principle and practice of participation — as opposed to top-down approach;
Social justice — as opposed to growth first and equity later;
People's control over their lives and resources - as opposed to marginalization and alienation of people from society.

How do you transform these principles into a coherent, precise and concrete set of activities?

First of all, strong grass roots organizations among the people are necessary, because if you are talking about participation, social justice, bottom-up planning, you cannot do without this instrument. Grass roots organization is more fundamental than developing specific programmes of adult education (health, family planning, agriculture, what have you).

At first NGOs were a bit suspicious of each other and of each other's intentions, there was no common ideology, but as time passed a degree of consensus was achieved; they are more collaborative now. There are examples of NGOs trying to do things together like publishing a newspaper and actually doing programmes in the field together.

The NGO-government relationship is one of love and hate. The government loves the NGOs when there is a disaster and asks them to carry out a relief operation, and the projects are approved in one day, and also when the government asks the NGOs to deliver services such as family planning, agricultural extension, literacy. They hate the NGOs when they talk about people's participation, social justice and point out the negative effects of the official development programmes.

There might be more of hatred nowadays, as a law was formulated in 1978 and strengthened in 1982, saying that NGOs must get clearance for all programmes before receiving any foreign funds; so there is heavy control and it entangles the NGOs in an unimaginable bureaucratic process, it may take

one year, two years, before a project has been approved. The smaller NGOs — not the big ones - even have to pay bakshish to get their programmes approved.

An attempt has been made by the large NGO BRAC to widen the scope of adult education, by-passing the adults and starting a non-formal education programme among children, developing a three year curriculum for them. This requires a different training model for the teachers who are recruited from the community. Common participation is a very important factor. This programme has come about at the request of people, not imposed from above.

India is a vast country, and one of the exciting things about it is that it is a country full of contradictions. On the one hand it is a leader of the non-aligned movement, taking a strong moral stand on international issues; on the other it engages in some very basic violations of human rights, unable to cope with the very complex problems facing the country. It is also a country where there are more than 10 000 NGOs, and has a history of over a century of non-governmental work. In the last three decades some very exciting innovations have been done at the local level on the practice of popular education, such as the informal network of participatory research, supported by the ICAE and ASPBAE.

There is a recent trend in India where the state is trying to bring about, with the help of some members of the NGO sector, a comprehensive legislation to create a National Council of Voluntary Organizations through an Act of Parliament. Many NGOs see this as a frightening trend, as a trend to regulate and control what is legitimate and what is not legitimate non-governmental work in India.

Last year the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act - a phenomenon similar to what we heard about Bangladesh — was also modified to bring in stricter controls as to who can receive foreign contributions and how these are to be reported. To quote but one example:

Quite recently one of the biggest and best-known NGOs in India, the State of Andra Pradesh Cross, was denied its foreign contribution possibility under the eupheism "in public interest". The result was that this organization, about as large as BRAC in Bangladesh, working in some 1 800 vilages through a very committed cadre of 1 500 field workers has not been able to pay its staff, because the procedure of seeking prior

permission will mean a year's delay before the funds can come in. What is this "public interest"? It is very simple: in several villages where Cross was working the local members of the Legislative Assembly had grabbed land illegally, making people landless, and through the educational and organizational work of Cross those members were forced to part with their loot. They put pressure on the state to cancel the potential of this oganization to receive foreign funds.

When people think about Fiji they often romanticize about it, talk about palms, lovely beaches, 300 islands basking in the sun, smiling Fijians, possibly in grass skirts. This just underlines how far away the Pacific is. These islands, thousands of miles away from Europe, are also isolated from Asia, and they have their own problems. Sometimes the Fijians feel a bit lost in the middle of their vast ocean. Actually there is more contact with Australia and New Zealand, from where assistance has been received in building up a national adult education programme, making the government aware of its role and the role of national development.

The adult education programme has been made part of the formal system (the Ministry of Education), and that has its drawbacks. To start a new activity within a highly structured system, with hardly any resources and very little personnel and no policy, is a very difficult thing to do, especially for a woman (as was the case) in male-dominated surroundings. The ministry gives it low priority, and this is of course reflected in the way adult education is carried out in Fiji: but because of this there is also quite a bit of flexibility for trying out unconventional approaches, stimulated by ideas from Australia, and in cooperation with existing structures. The church for instance is very influential, and the community will sometimes act only if the church takes a lead. Traditional culture is also very strong, it has a lot of influence with people; you have to work in line with that even as a civil servant.

In the beginning it was mainly a matter of opening up dialogue with people, using media a lot to get the word around, despite the fact that the government was clamouring for concrete results. There was a battle on two fronts, trying to convince the decision-makers, fighting with them, and at the same time trying to get the people organized to articulate their own needs. It was not an easy task. In the end schools were selected as a site where this learning could take place. A national

one love, one heart

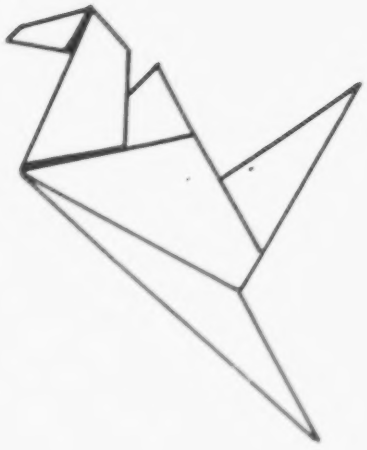
love

kjaerlighed for alle

love

68

workshop was planned with head-teachers, principals and some community leaders, but there was no government money available for this, no money for adult education at all. At this stage, in 1982, ASPBAE put up the first funds for adult education in Fiji, making the first national workshop possible. This was a break-through, as the government for the first time began to realize the need for adult ecucation. This aid did not amount to a lot of money, but it came at the time it was needed, and it had a crucial effect. It also led to the formation of a National Association of Adult Education, in 1985, with representatives both from NGOs and from the government, to integrate their work and to influence the government to be aware of the importance of adult education in national development and to take its responsibility.



Salvador Allende vive

empowerment

democracia profunda

genegendheid

folkstyre

démocratie

loka shakti

vertrauen auf die eigene Kraft

lamite

listen, a song, a song is beginning right here among us

rauha

Latin American Panel

Sylvia van Dijk, Mexico
Francisco Vio Grossi, Chile

Promoted by the ICAE the Latin American Council for Adult Education (CEEAL) was founded in 1979 to advocate adult education in the whole region. This is done in many different ways, not the least by a number of networks, dealing with a particular subject or issue. The idea is that members would join CEEAL but they would "live" in networks in the field. The main ones are:

Participatory research is the oldest network which existed even before CEEAL came into being, coordinated by a member in Brazil. The concept was earlier known under other names (thematic investigation, action research) but the idea is the same: a method for people to investigate their own reality to be able to transform it. At first quite a lot of money was forthcoming from the academic world for this work which today has become an established part of many development programmes. The danger is that the idea might be diluted, by being used in all sorts of contexts, but this should not obscure the fact that this has been a highly successful network.

Popular education among women is another very active network, coordinated by Rosio Rosario from Ecuador, which has organized a number of Latin American and sub-regional seminars. A point of argument has been the tension between the women's movement and the feminists which is to be sorted out.

Literacy is coordinated by Cesar Picon of Peru, living in Mexico. The main objective is to organize the literacy work by the NGOs in such a way that they can say things that UNESCO cannot say. The goal of the continental UNESCO literacy campaign is to eradicate illiteracy by the year 2000. This won't happen as long as present socio-economic conditions prevail. An alternative campaign will be launched around the slogan: in order to read reality for writing history. The inherent meaning is that people should learn how to read and write in order to take control of their own lives..

Popular communication, coordinated by a Uruguayan called

Mario Katlun. The aim is to serve whose who are involved in horizontal communication, making bulletins, AV materials and so on.

Education for peace and human rights, an issue very much relevant in several parts of Latin America. Peace is, however, a tricky concept to handle, often debased, often confused with violence. The main task of this network is to recover the word of peace for the people.

Systematization of popular education experience, that is, reflection on theory and methodology. A lot of duplication of effort could be avoided if current work was better documented.

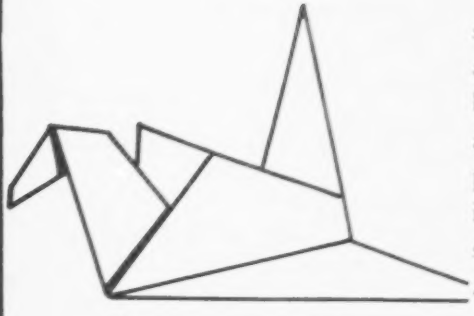
Popular education and *primary health care,* tapping both western and traditional medical knowledge and practice.

Popular education and *aging.* First rejected, as in Latin America elders traditionally are taken care of by the extended family, and work on the land until they die. With urbanization and people living in slums this is today rather a myth.

Other networks emerging are those of *prison education, ethnic minority groups,* and *people's libraries* (linked to the service of participatory research). There is also a *training programme* for adult educators, partly on an exchange basis.

There is a problem getting this organizational work recognized by donors who prefer to support concrete projects at grass roots level. This is not enough. It is also necessary to give practical and pedagogical support to those who do the work in the field. Otherwise there is a risk that adult educators will get buried in their daily chores, isolated and without perspective on what they are doing and where they are going. Seminars and workshops force them to systematize their experiences in a coherent way, and the exchange of ideas creates solidarity among them and gives them strength to carry on their work.

In Mexico the first and foremost concern of many people is to survive in very difficult economic and political circumstances. A crucial task for popular educators is to link these survival strategies to an understanding of what is happening at the national level. (Why does the price of the tortilla go up by 100% in one day?) Also discussed are sensitive issues such as breast feeding, in the light of marketing methods of companies selling milk substitutes. Among women the problem is to take up issues that really interest them without consolidating the traditional roles of women (as home keepers etc.). A way to tackle this is, not to see women as victims but to



recognize the strength of women, and try to channel their energy into creative alternatives that will enable them to make more decisions.

There are a number of NGOs in Mexico that run programmes, financed by the rich, to fill the gap left by the government, a kind of charity to provide services to the most deprived areas of the country; these services are essential but they don't give people a chance to understand what is happening in the country or why they are so poor.

Independent NGOs that work from a critical analysis of the official model of development are, after the end of the oil boom, involved in a struggle for survival themselves, very insecure at the receiving end of international aid. They find it difficult to know how crises and political changes in the North will affect them as recipients in the South.

The Case for Latin America

Several times the peculiar situation of Latin America in the context of international aid cropped up in discussions and presentations. This is how Sylvia van Dijk from Mexico put it:

"We are usually considered by the donors to be a rich part of the world as compared to Africa and Asia. Looking at overall statistics this might be so. But the difference between rich and poor in our countries, and the way the American style of life and the American development model has been dumped upon us, as their strategic continent for a lot of ressons, has made Latin America a case study for how development should not take place. We think that at least in the case of Mexico, the development strategies that have been adopted by the government have been very bad for our country.

We have lost self-sufficiency in food. Twenty years ago we were exporting maize and frijoles; at this moment we are dependent on the US to be able to eat. At the beginning of the oil boom a lot of banks and creditors thought that Mexico was good business. So they encouraged our government and our people to invest vast sums of money, and there is no hope that we shall ever be able to pay it back. Now we are the country with the highest per capita debt in Latin America. These problems are a product of a development model that we as adult educators are trying to analyze critically and find alternatives for." (LA panel presentation)

Janny van Es from Holland had this to say on the matter:

"I've been worried by the fact that all government people represented here have indicated, ju : by mentioning in which countries they are present and what kind of help they are giving, that apparently Latin America is not a priority area for European assistance. In the Netherlands there have always been a few countries where concentrated help was given, like Peru, Colombia, Jamaica. And Nicaragua was receiving reconstruction help. But all this help has been stopped over the last five years, and to a large extent the Scandinavian countries, West Germany and Holland are in the same situation. They go on the basis

of World Bank figures and say that the Latin American countries don't qualify for help because they are too rich.

The idea of the struggle against poverty was, not to give help on the basis of countries, national entities, but on the basis of population sectors that suffered most. And for this reason large sectors of the American continent qualify. I'm thinking of Mexico where the situation is quite desperate. I'm thinking of Peru where the slums in the cities really produce a dramatic situation. I'm thinking of Chile where people are getting worried because of the high level of unemployment and the high numbers of small children who don't get enough to eat and who are now so undernourished that it's feared they will never be able to use their original potential to the full.

In the view of this situation, I would like to make a strong appeal to the western European governments to reconsider their attitude. Well, it's more than an attitude, I think, it is a decision. The struggle against poverty needs to be tackled wherever large sectors of the population are extremely poor, and this is so in many countries in Latin America; and the Caribbean as well — take Haiti for instance." (interview)

conviviancy

Maurice Bishop lives

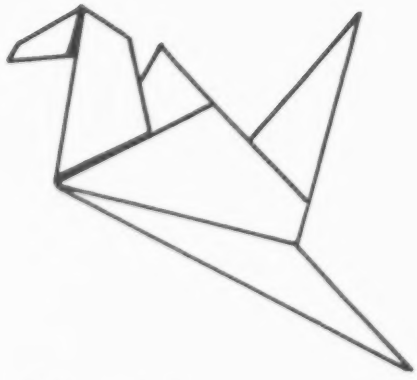
oplysning

eigeninitiative

solidarity

solidarité

solidaritet



fribet och fred

Caribbean Panel

Didacus Jules, St. Vincent
Honor Ford-Smith, Jamaica

The Caribbean has been subject to intense metropolitan rivalry over the centuries which has, made it a divided area; not only is there an English-speaking, a French-speaking and a Latin, Spanish-speaking Caribbean, but also divisions that run along racial and cultural lines within these linguistic areas. A keyword to describe the present situation is "penetration", political and ideological. From Washington's point of view the Caribbean is the backyard of the US. Dramatic evidence of the US intention to assert its presence in the area was the invasion in 1983 of the tiny island of Grenada.

Local and regional development initiatives are young. The field has been left open to international NGOs and government agencies to compete for the minds and hearts of people. Here again, in the area of develoment work, penetration is taking place.

There are organizations like US Aid whose criteria are totally linked up with foreign policy dictates from Washington.

UNESCO is playing a vital, non-aligned role in development work, especially as part of a major development project for Latin America and the Caribbean.

There are very few regional NGOs. One should be particularly mentioned, however, and that is the Women Development Units of the Universities of the West Indies which have managed to draw the attention of both people and governments to women's issues, and because of their work at grassroot level, they have forced several governments to form women's bureaus in various ministries.

Two regional groupings worth noting are the Caribbean Intitute for People's Development (CARISPEDA) and the Confederence for Caribbean Development. They both purport to stand for the same thing but CARISPEDA is more selective in its membership, insisting on associations becoming members to make a very explicit statement on their outlook on regional development.

At government level there is no broad and amplified vision of adult education, and there are few national adult educa-

tion associations. Positive exceptions are Jamaica — probably the most advanced Caribbean country in terms of development initiatives — St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada.

Most government programmes in the Caribbean have been traditional and remedial in character. Popular education has always been initiated from the communities themselves by local activists attempting to redress some of the issues of injustice and inequality. However two important milestones need to be recorded in the history of Caribbean adult education when progressive regimes have tried to mobilize people through educational efforts, namely the Manley government in Jamaica and the Bishop government in Grenada.

In Jamaica the Manley regime liberated a lot of new initiatives within the government machinery, a democratic opening which enabled many different groups to push forward their visions and ideas. After 1980 many of them felt that they had to pull out, because they felt that they could not support the policies being pursued by the new government and because of financial cuts, making their work impossible or meaningless. The government was in effect divesting itself of as much responsibility as possible for areas like social services, education and health, which were privatized and taken over by large NGOs, subsidized by rich US donors.

While NGOs of a mobilizing type, trying to use the space that the government had left open, found themselves in a totally new position, where they had to institutionalize themselves and build up an organization from the beginning. This led to difficulties like bureaucratization, lopsided recruitment, and perpetual lack of funds.

Even before the revolution in Grenada so called freedom schools had been established, to become centres for popular education. After 1979 a national literacy campaign was launched which was phased into general adult education activities with a structured curriculum. This opened many doors for people to obtain skills that so far had been closed to them, and a dialogue was created between people and various development agencies. There was also an international dimension, to see national issues and problems in an overall Caribbean or a Third World context. This work was unreservedly supported by a number of international agencies (UNESCO, HIVOS, CUSO, Oxfam and others), and this was a departure from the traditional aid seen in the Caribbean.

Group Work

Every afternoon participants split up into five smaller groups to discuss all or some of seven topics agreed upon the first day, as relevant to the theme of the conference. Reports from their work were delivered the following morning and recorded on tape. They often gave rise to a general discussion in plenary and certain recommendations emerged as a result from them.

No group actually dealt with all seven topics, but all topics were covered, although some of them were more thoroughly pondered than others. On the subsequent pages the most important points raised in group and plenary discussions are listed, not in priority order but as they were brought up. Duplications have been avoided, but comments that have been made by several participants and stressed as vital, have been emphasized.

Topics for Groups

1. Interrelationships between NGOs and Governments.
2. The chain: Donors — intermediary funding agencies — beneficiaries.
3. The place and role of international NGOs and regional NGOs.
4. Newly emerging patterns of international cooperation.
5. Project support vs programmes/processes.
6. Evaluations/accountability: concepts, methods, politics.
7. "Development"? Grassroots, popular, indigenous, etc.

Some observations, conclusions and recommendations

Production of video tapes, films etc. that were well made and costly at some point should be disseminated to other national NGOs, and the possibility should be investigated of creating a resource centre for audio-visual materials describing projects, activities and methodologies within adult education, accessible to NGOs at minimum cost for training of popular educators and increasing the motivation of the learners.

South-to-South exchanges should be intensified, not only interregionally but also intraregionally, including — to make the experience more real — NGOs from the South to see the "south" of the North, to learn how things in the industrial countries have developed; the form of the exchanges could be formal study tours or attachments, either individually or in team form. If it were to be in the team form we felt that these would give a stronger multiplicative effect, and they should be combined so as to include planners, evaluators, and practitioners, and strike a balance between men and women participants.

A genuine partnership between agencies and beneficiaries demands greater consultation, and we felt that this consultation should not take place on a one-to-one basis but in a more open form (which occasionally happens and that is positive). NGOs should be recognized as legitimate partners, for the benefit not only of the NGOs but also of the donors, by seeing how these needs can be articulated and by being able to keep up with developments in the field.

It is often recognized — and this is a point that may have been slightly overlooked, especially in the introspective analyses of the NGOs themselves -that weakness of organization is greater than the absence of funds with many NGOs. Steps should be taken to strengthen the organizational capacity of these institutions to manage change, including:

* learning how to handle conflict
* improving leadership and participation in decision-making
* improving the quality of staff through in-service training
* incorporating certain business skills, not because the NGOs are profit-making, but because there are some commercial skills that would benefit the NGOs (planning, accounting, financial management)
* reflecting upon and systematizing what they are doing

This training of management should of course be tailored to the needs of the NGOs and could take place either through consultants or through the exchange of personnel from stronger to weaker institutions.

Arising from the existing bias in favour of so-called growth-oriented development, there is a need to underline the importance of struggling to gain a greater apportionment of resources to popular education and to cultural work in its broadest sense, that is, not only cultural products but culture in the sense of extending into people's lives as well.

We should not try to impose our concepts of development in the North on the variety and diversity of adult education which may exist in the South, because this might create uniformity and therefore also destroy the cultural variety that exists in Third World countries. Agencies in the North must first of all accept the realities of the South and learn from them, and then identify the needs that may persist there.

In the presentation of the donor agencies there was a great deal of emphasis, via the budget, being placed on productive sectors of development (agriculture, communications, economic infrastructure). This emphasis was to the detriment of attention to empowering skills, particularly skills that have to do with adult education. We felt that this was not a very positive situation and that empowering skills should attract greater attention on the part of donor agencies.

In consensus we came down on the side of working for a more process-oriented, organizational-building kind of funding rather than a project-to-project type of funding. This was probably the most common thread that went through many of our experiences. Greater attention to more process-oriented forms of support might avoid the reproduction of conventional power structures.

Donors should coordinate their efforts and exchange information among themselves to serve the recipients better and to avoid duplication.

There is a mutual need for understanding each other's struggles internationally so as to better link policies of donor

agencies to the specific political, economic and social realities in donor countries, for those realities affect the material and cultural realities of recipients in the Third World at all levels. Towards this we felt there needed to be more support given to an exchange between European and North American adult education networks and those that exist in the Third World, to facilitate an exchange of experiences among recipients, to develop networks based on common objectives, so that we would be moving towards a kind of shared international perspective and a shared international analysis of the whole question.

We also felt there is an important need to understand the struggles going on inside donor organizations; donor agencies should organize consultations with recipients on donor policy issues and evaluation of donor programmes, for example on a regional basis.

We should try to reach a better understanding of how our bureaucracies work, and how our own administrative routines work, and how bureaucracies

and routines of the agencies involved also work, so as that we could arrive at a better understanding of how to exchange information between donors and recipients.

What popular educators and NGOs involved in popular education are seeking as almost a cherished, desirable value of their work as well as for themselves is the notion of collective autonomy. Because of this very vision, it is not surprising that existing forces of power would attempt to regulate these popular educators, attempt to regulate popular education, attempt to regulate the NGOs working in the field. One of the efforts towards collective autonomy is essentially an effort to challenge, to reject, to influence these increasing efforts to regulate and control popular education. The implication for us here is that we should support initiatives that are being made to counter such moves of regulation. The second implication is for ICAE and others to promote those models that restructure the relationship between those who have resources and those who want resources in such a way that it supports the move to collective autonomy and avoids the building of dependencies.

We came to recognize the almost invisible, tiny location of adult education in the overall context of aid in the world; that hit us deeply. We would like to propose that this overall structure of aid and the narrow location of adult education in it be something that other popular educators and NGOs working in the field of adult education begin to appreciate.

The discussions during the last four days have highlighted

the various types of roles that NGOs are playing in promotion of popular education. The context in which these roles are played requires further dissemination to our friends and colleagues in the rest of the world. The report should be widely distributed among the NGOs working in this field as well as those donors, partners, and intermediaries who are somehow interested in the entire field of adult education. There is a need to initiate and continue this dialogue that has started between different partners, particularly among those of us who are absent, from different sides of the spectrum, noting the fact that certain big, rich, resourceful donors are not here — and perhaps never will be in a gathering like this.

Alternative models of evaluation, which are being innovated, experimented with, need to be promoted, analysed, shared, because it is too often too easy to say: Thou shalt engage in participatory evaluation, but people need to know how, and why, and what are the experiences elsewhere etc. It was felt that this could support the shift from a project-type to a programmatic type of thrust.

We should try to influence donors to reduce their own direct funding in favour of these chains of communication that exist between NGOs, thus enabling a greater two-way communication. There is a common ground here, as adult education institutions in the North have the same concern of helping people to take their destiny in their own hands. This approach they have in common with the ten thousand NGOs in India for instance, and this common idea of supporting a process whereby people start to organize themselves, is the joint feature but not the contents, as these will vary from place to place.

Finding solutions is always a participatory process. There should be an exchange among all these various activities, and an attempt to group them together to give them more strength, help them to bring about a sort of lobbying, pressure group activity, and the creation of mutual confidence between the different levels.

At the local level the influence of any adult education institution from the North taking part, should facilitate certain processes of exchange, know how to put the right questions without having the right answers already handy.

We would recommend donor agencies that don't have the competency or the skill to know about these local processes, rather to leave it to the adult education institutions to handle these processes of communication, with funding involved; but the communication process should come before the funding, and not the funding as a kind of primordial preoccupation of a given institution.

The Business of Evaluation

This is a bone of contention. Evaluation can be regarded as a necessary tool by those who must account for the use of resources, ultimately provided by tax payers, members of a body, or the public at large. It can also be felt to be a tool of domination by those who are subjected to it.

What then is evaluation? Here is one definition, as phrased by one of the participants (Muller):

"To examine past experiences objectively, systematically and with exactitude for decision-making purposes.

Decision-making is the key word. Evaluation is not an end it itself. It serves a purpose, namely providing information used in decision-making. To make appropriate decisions on a training or development programme we need to know what is going on: are the goals met, the targets reached, the expected outcomes realized? To find out whether we can just go on with our programme or whether our programme needs improvement or even an alternative, we need solid information."

Evaluation can take many different forms. It can be internal, conducted by those who are responsible for the planning and implementation of a programme in order to get continuous information which can be used to improve or justify it. The main disadvantages here are that adult education administrators and organizers are not usually trained in evaluation, and consequently the results can be — or be suspected to be — self-defensive rather than objective.

To avoid this suspicion agencies involved in a programme therefore often hire external evaluators from outside. This may guarantee objectivity and exactitude of method but there are drawbacks of superficiality, time pressure, and linguistic and cultural barriers.

A third approach is participatory evaluation, a collective effort by all those who are involved in a programme, the organizers as well as the "target groups".

From a donor's point of view, representatives of SIDA had this to say in an interview:

"There is a general tendency that everything we do must be evaluated. But I think that we are a bit unrealistic when we believe that everything can be measured quantatively —

81

we want input and output and was it worth it or not. We have got to be a bit more sophisticated and realize that some activities can be evaluated in that way but others can't; they are so complicated and long term the impact may be seen in the next generation. The impact of adult education we support may be how adults raise their children, and that can't be seen until ten years later. I think we have got to show more patience, and trust that progress is going in the right direction but it will take time, and it must take time." (Rosengart)

"Evaluation could be something very positive if it was made together with those who are responsible for the project, not as an evaluation for SIDA but as a guideline for those who are involved. To my knowledge SIDA has not been very aware of the need or the advantage of that kind of evaluation. It has been very much done for SIDA's own sake, not for the sake of the country." (Lind)

"Yes, but we have always had the feeling that if we do an evaluation together with those responsible for a programme, they will automatically be in a defensive position because they think that the continued support will depend on the outcome of the evaluation. We think that this will put them in an awkward situation." (Rosengart)

From an intermediary position (the German Foundation for International Development) this has been put forward in favour of evaluation:

"The benefits are manifold.

Firstly, by evaluation, development adiminstrators and development trainers understand their programmes much better. They become aware of the flaws and deficiencies as well as the advantages and benefits of the programmes. They become familiar with the programmes they are responsible for.

Secondly, only by evaluating their programmes can they take proper action to improve an on-going programme or to draw lessons for a future programme. It is much better to base decisions on solid information than to learn by trial and error - a learning experience which in many cases leads to nothing but frustration.

By evaluating their programmes, development administrators and development trainers learn to defend their programmes with good arguments and not only emotionally. In a world of scarcity of resources they are in a better position to secure funds and to get support. When being questioned by policy and decision makers they can show evidence based

on information, not on personal opinion." (Muller)

From the perspective of a recipient the matter can look quite different:

"Evaluation is one of the key moments in developing a relationship between people in the North and people in the South.

First of all the very name of 'evaluation' has an implication of needing to pass an exam. Somebody is coming along to evaluate me, and according to that the resources are either going to continue or I'm going to be unemployed. — - — When that evaluation is vertical, paternalistic, authoritarian, an instrument of domination, it is useless. I can't communicate horizontally with somebody who has got the cheque-book. It is like in a family, if somebody has the money and the others don't, that's domination.

These evaluators make every effort to hide the real story of the project. They want to show results, because that kind of evaluation is linked to the idea of a project as something that's going to be measured by results: How many beneficiaries? How much money will they make? And so on. So people arrange things to demonstrate that that actually happens. In some cases the evaluation consists of nothing more than a form which must be filled in at the end of the project. In other cases short visits by the agency's staff are made. When evaluation is carried out by external agents the time-frame in which these evaluators work is not sufficient to capture and understand all the expectations and interests that are at stake in the project. In most cases they don't share their evaluating criteria with those 'evaluated'. This evaluation turns into a one-dimensional exercise, sometimes arbitrary and of little use for the people involved.

Finally, evaluations in the aid chain are usually carried out 'from the top to the bottom'. I know of no precedent whereby promotion organizations have evaluated the agency of international assistance or where grass roots groups have evaluated the promotion organization.

If you want to get at the real truth, at least in my experience, you need to organize evaluation in a participatory manner. That is evaluation as an exercise by which the evaluators, putting forward new questions from the outside, enable people to systematize their experience, and try to gain some lessons from that experience.

In Chile we have just finished a very good evaluation exercise, where we invited the peasants, the NGOs, and the foreign

evaluators to a workshop where we evaluated everything: we evaluated the evaluation, the NGOs, everybody was evaluated, and it was a very productive exercise. But that meant that from the very beginning the evaluators had to say that they would propose the continuation of the project. Otherwise there is no possible way of horizontal evaluation." (Vio Grossi, interview + p 22)

Two working groups dealt intensively with this issue of evaluation. To quote from their reports:

"We criticized the traditional approach to evaluation: an external person comes in for a few weeks, looks over the shoulder of people and presents his report. We thought that this type of evaluation was of little use to the people in the field and the beneficiaries themselves. Some reconsideration is necessary. Some of the qualities suggested for this new approach to evaluation was an importance given to continuity, and to the internal process of evaluation, the people participating themselves in the evaluation, and the importance of evaluation becoming a tool of improvement instead of a tool of control.

There is a link between evaluation and accountability, and we noticed a big difference between the need of the donor agencies, that have to respond to their institutions, and the need of the beneficiary." (Group 3)

"After discussing various examples and case studies that were given, members of the group felt that there is a need to evaluate adult education projects and programmes in a participatory manner, and that such evaluation should be identified at the early stages as an integrated part. Members identified two types of evaluation that were thought to be relevant, namely:

* internal and formative participatory evaluation
* external summative evaluation (commonly known as inspection reporting)

Donor agencies are fascinated by traditional, often computerized data gathering, and it was noted that it might be necessary to seek technical and expertise assistance in very large programmes. The most important aspect is the quality of evaluation, and this is largely determined by the calibre of the evaluator and what is to be evaluated. Evaluation should of course be objective-oriented and systematic. In the final analysis however donors should not be obsessed with this kind of evaluation." (Group 2)

False Contradictions

Rajesh Tandon

excerpt from Asian Panel

Finally I would like to talk about a few false contradictions that permeate the work of the NGOs in India, as well as their relationship with several local and international donor organizations.

These contradictions have been imposed through a series of world views, many of which are not really tested in the on-going dynamic reality of the country. But we believe that these are false contradictions; they are false because they position one point of view against another, they are false in the same way as Maria were talking about false boxes of cathegories.

Micro — Macro
The contradiction goes something like this: if you work micro you cannot bring about macro change, if you are looking at a macro level you are unable to work micro.

This is a false contradiction.

You can work micro, you can work locally, and in order to be able to work locally well you had better think globally. There is no other option. Because the forces which make you work locally, the forces today which keep people landless and deprived are not local forces. They are not emanating from a local landlord, or from the local state capital, or from New Delhi alone, they emanate very much from Stockholm, Copenhaguen, Washington, DC, and London. So, my friends, you had better think globally!

Theory — Practice
Practice is beautiful — theory is useless; theory is excellent — practice is useless. All this is false contradiction.

Practice must necessarily lead to development of theory, and theory must necessarily inform practice. There is no contradiction in our point of view, but it is positioned as a false contradiction.

Rural — Urban
In fact the National Council even proposes that if you don't live in the rural areas, you are not even capable of doing NGO work. Even in a predominantly rural country like India, by the turn of the century, half of the poor — as defined by the state itself — will live in urban slums. And let me tell you, the poverty in Bombay City of people living on the pavements is much worse than of those who live in the villages.

This is a false contradiction.

The same forces keep people urban poor as keep people rural poor.

Small — Large
You have to work locally, you have to work at a small scale, you also have to work at a large scale. The size must be appropriate to the task at hand. If NGOs continue to remain too tiny and small, they have no ability to counter the forces which emanate from New Delhi or Washington. Of necessity they have to work together on a large scale.

Continuity — Withdrawal
It is almost like the withdrawal syndrom. And there is another word in another language. It goes something like this:

You have been working in the villages for three years, don't you think you should withdraw now? Aren't you creating dependency? My simple question is: have the forces which were keeping them marginalized and poor withdrawn? If they have, we will also withdraw. If the forces have changed their shape and colour, we will change our role and practice. The roles may change, but what is withdrawal?

Absolutely a false contradiction.

Income Generation — Adult Education
As if a series of small, small income generating projects were done where women and men would get half the minimum wage, as specified by the state, is a great accomplishment! Millions and billions of dollars have been spent bilaterally and through the NGOs to provide women and men two rupees a day. I think it is not worth it. Unless we can bring together the component of education, the component of empowerment within income generation, it is a false contradiction.

83

Internal — External
In fact there is a moralism in India, supported by the state, by the Gandhians, and of course by the communist parties, which says that all foreign resources, all foreign funding, is an imperialist strategy to divide the class and keep the revolution away. Sounds excellent. But what about the state? What about the corporate sector? Which today receives millions and millions of dollars of foreign aid. Why is it that these tiny, puny little NGOs — who because of the work they do cannot in fact get state support — should turn a blind eye, and say, no, no, we will generate our own resources?

It also depends on which class in a social, economic and political context we work with. If you work with the poorest class, if you work with the landless, you work with the tribals, the ability of that class to generate surplus to support educational work does not exist. If you work with the middle peasants, of course they can support educational work. If you work with the rich urban elite of course they can support educational work.

So this is again a false contradiction, saying: you only work with internal resources, or you only work with external resources. I think both are useful, both are necessary. It depends on the context, it depends on the practice.

Initiation — Response
Another false contradiction; you only respond to what people need. If that were the case many of us would have lost our jobs. If people knew all the time and were able to articulate precisely what they wanted, we adult educators would not be necessary at all. So there is a role of initiating as well as responding.

It is a false contradiction to say: Oh, people are not participating in designing the projects and programmes.

Somebody said: How many people are participating in designing bilateral or multilateral aid?

Historical Moment - Vision of the Future
That has to do with working in a given historical moment as well as having a vision of the future. Without a vision of the future our work at a historical point in time is going to be meaningless, it is going to flounder. But just the vision of the future alone is not going to take us there, we need to work at this historical point in time, within the constraints and within the forces that operate.

And therefore it is a false contradiction to say that you first create a vision and then do the work, or first do the work and vision will emerge. No, you can both. In fact we are forced to do both. There is no other option.

From Projects to Programmes

To put it very crudely: for recipients in the South the project is a problem, a hampering factor, something that has to be fought against, at least modified to give room for meaningful adult education efforts in a constantly changing situation; for donors in the north the project is an accepted form of operation, more or less taken for granted as the form of international aid. In the usual intermediary position we find various agencies that try to reconcile these extreme views.

Francisco Vio Grossi put the problem in his conference paper entitled From Project Bureaucracy to the Flourishing of Life, where he first states the fact that NGOs in the field:

"... generally operate through projects. These are a set of activities oriented towards the satisfaction of the popular sector's needs. The project is also a document which states the activities and necessary resources to meet certain objectives within a defined period of time. Financial support for these projects generally comes from external sources such as agencies of international assistance and cooperation. Only in exceptional situations does funding come from national and/or local governments." (p 14)

He goes on to say that the axis of the relationship between the activists in the field and the various funding agencies is the project. He then identifies several main criticisms of the project as the central axis of the chain:

* it is often very rigidly defined
* it generates instability and insecurity among staff working in the field
* it creates dependency between recipient and donor
* the negotiations of the project are slow and cumbersome
* it tends to follow fashions and fads that have very little to do with local realities

A long list of grievences, and it might seem as if this is not an accidental situation, but one that is deliberately brought about by the international agencies (AIAs) on the grassroot organisations (POs):

"POs believe that many AIAs in practice impose projects

on their counterparts regardless of their style of presentation or language of expression. Very simply, the POs adapt their projects to what the AIAs define as feasible for financing. What projects are undertaken are not necessarily what POs consider essential but rather are projects that have been deemed of value by those with the power to finance.

A practice of 'codification' and 'decodification' exists throughout the aid chain among agencies of international assistance, promotion organizations and grass roots groups. The AIAs must satisfy the expectations of the donors whether they be a government ministry of the public in general. They interpret to the donors, in a language and style believed to be acceptable to them, the needs of the local community which, in turn, have been understood through the lens of the promotion orgnizations. Of course, the groups operating at the grass roots level have adapted their language to 'fit'' with that of the promotion organizations.

"Thus the main suggestion is to alter the chain's axis from static 'projects' to dynamic 'processes' and programmes."

Finally, when a project is funded, the organizations that form the links of this aid chain decodify the project in terms of their own interests and needs. The resulting tension between 'what is said to be wanted' and 'what is really wanted' is one of the most recurrent criticisms made to the conventional project system. This project system is accused of obscuring the real activities that must take place if programmes are to be a part of the complex process unfolding in the everyday lives of people in their local communities. — — —

Last, but not least, the conventional project system, fosters competition among AIAs, POs and other beneficiary groups for the limited resources available, thus inhibiting the integration and unity needed for development which should by nature characterize the aid chain. The project system has created, in many cases, important obstacles to the establishment of bonds of cooperation and solidarity between AIAs and POs.'' (Vio Grossi p. 21-22 + 23)

A representative of SIDA agrees that the concept of project is fundamental and explains why:

''. . . donors traditionally prefer projects which are limited in scope and time and which can be costed in some detail before being approved.

Also the location of a project should preferably be limited to a few places. Decision-making procedures within donor agencies are built on this notion of a project and so is the image of foreign aid among the general public in the donor countries.

Donors usually look at projects as investments. This means that only capital costs are covered and preferably the foreign exchange component only. For example, literacy projects are widely spread geographically, are more difficult to plan and cost in detail, and the needs are for local recurrent costs rather than for capital costs." (SIDA p 8)

One of the discussion groups chose to treat this subject in some depth, examining the differences of the two approaches of project and programme support and the implications of the use of different terminology:

"We concluded that what was behind the discomfort of many organisations working with grassroots groups was that the connotations of a project type of support was a short term intervention, usually a one shot, once and for all kind of thing, and this came accompanied by a precise but also narrow set of objectives. The consequence of that was that projects seldom allowed the consideration of structural factors that are affecting the quality of life.

By contrast, when identifying positive features and advantages of the programme type of support, we thought of longer term assistance, of an assistance that is more flexible, that would allow 'executors' - or agencies in charge of implementation — to conduct the work more in line with themes, something that would give organizational flexibility to the identification of problems, identification of solutions. We also felt that what we liked about programme support was that we were always linking the existence of aid with a process that should be continuous in nature, a notion of evolution.

Project support should be questioned because it reflects a peculiar view of development, a view that has very much to do with control over the production of the recipients, usually demanding quick results; also the expectation of accountability with a very narrow set of objectives - 'you are supposed to do this or that as you promised!" — and this gives very little room for modification. This is an accountability that favours the donor vis-a-vis its national constituency but is not necessarily productive or beneficial for the recipient.

Project support tended to deny the interactive nature of community improvement in which a great deal of dialogue and problem solving and discussion have to take place.

In many projects the educational component was not seriously considered, and if it came in afterwards it came as an afterthought, and if so it would be an input with very limited objec-

tives and not part of an evolutionary process.

Looking at the ratonale for donors not liking programme support, two sorts of referentials emerged in our discussions: one is the question of the large amount of funds, the fear among agencies that they had to commit a lot of money. We felt that there is not necessarily this correspondence of programme-big investment. You can still think of programme support where the budget did not automatically multiply itself by a factor of five or a factor of ten.

The other issue that quite often appears in the reluctance of donor agencies to provide programme support is this question of dependency. We felt that this was operating at two levels: dependency in terms of the donor agency feeling the longer the term of the aid, and the greater the degree of support, the more dependent the recipient will be on support from one organization. We felt that this kind of dependency was not an intrinsic part of programme support.

The other question of dependency the group examined was that which could emerge between the adult educator and people in the community. There we felt that a good adult educator is essentially a facilitator, someone whose role would be to make sure that organic intellectuals emerge in the community so that these people in turn could carry on the work. But we also felt that the role of the educator should not be a one shot intervention, but he or she should continue to be in contact with the community, a relationship that would evolve over time." (reporting from groups)

Wolfgang Leumer from DVV (the German Adult Education Association) tried to explain the use of different terminology in this way:

"In the formalized way, what we propose to our ministry is a paper, a proposal, with a budget, indicating what we want to do, indicating how we want to measure our success or our failure, indicating the cost factors that will arise, indicating duration — indicating a number of formally set items which are, of course, bearing in mind the tax payers' interest in knowing what happens to their money, and that is fair enough I think.

This paper then, called a project, is not necessarily meaning that we sort of transplant an idea, pro-ject the idea into a totally unadapted environment. It is a project paper reflecting the programmatic needs, the gaps that have been identified in a kind of common, or joint undertaking with our part-

ners there. Where best could we slot our funds in? Where would be the best effect? Or is it just a repetition of what you already do? Are we in the position to identify new fields, experimental fields? Can we try something out which, if it works out fine — and we will in that case take the risk, because of the finances we give — may have a kind of model character?

We use the little funding we can set aside as an instrument to catalyze around certain ideas, to catalyze around certain core ideas and try them out; and also core organization. Both are there, because if you have an idea you have to have an institution or agency to carry it out.

Therefore I think it is these programmes, these kinds of ideas, this programmatic way of trying out what adult education can achieve in its vast field of application, that goes into a project paper. It is then written down in a proposal form and it is proposed to our ministry and therefore we call it a project. But it would never be something that is a kind of artificial, or biased thing on our projected ideas, but it is something that has been worked out with them. Of course there are some constraints on our part — that we can't give money for buildings, that we can't give money for personnel, that we can't give money for technical outfit alone — it has to be the idea what adult education could achieve in a given environment, in a given set of social and economic circumstances, which will determine what type of programme we are going to support or which parts of an already on-going programme that will be supported from our end. And that is then — when it refers back to our own situation here vis-a-vis our funding ministry - a project.

But the distinction made by Vio Grossi is fair and well, and I appreciate it, and we try as much as possible not to come with our projected ideas into an on-going programme, and therefore destroy what has been developed by the local adult educators. That is what counts and that is what we have got to support by all means. — — —

The project proposal as such will always define the framework. Here is an organization, they are about to go into literacy work, they have found out that this is ever so difficult and they want to try out new things, they want to do literacy in terms of, say income generating projects of chicken breeding or rabbit breeding, I don't know, whatever comes into their minds and whatever is suitable to their environment, and from their economic activity the necessity of literacy as a tool to

improving upon whatever they have already done, may arise then. We have to set this framework, of course, and then try to explain and identify the very gaps where our programme, our programmatic support will come in. And it's always a complementary factor, it's never the whole thing. It is always a supplementary support to something which will go on even without our assistance. But the degree of its efficiency and the dissemination of ideas within that framework may be poorer, may be lesser..

Therefore it's on these grounds, on say, bringing new ideas from the outside because of the exchange with adult education institutions in the area, that we can make adult education programmes more fruitful, more effective, have a greater outreach, create an infrastructure which will be stable even after withdrawal of our support. That is what we have in mind when we depict this framework." (Leumer interview)

And donors seem well aware of the criticism and try to:

". . . look for more flexible procedures which are better suited to the requirements of for example literacy programmes, health campaigns and programmes for rural water supply.

Sector support agreements with special procedures of cooperation were introduced in the early 1970s. This has allowed for a considerable flexibility. It has been possible under such agreements to reallocate funds between projects but also between various items in a project budget. Local recurrent costs could be met under such programmes." (SIDA p 8)

In practice it may not be so easy for a government body to be as flexible as some of its civil servants may wish, there are so many forces afoot in the corridors of power; in Leumer's opinion it might be easier for an intermediary with its first-hand knowledge of and expertise in adult education work:

"In one project or the other we could find out that the proposal once made is totally irrelevant to the real situation and therefore we have got to change it. We are in the position to present then an adapted or adjusted proposal to our ministry and the cost factors again etc., and I think that is what the sponsoring or funding or donor agency should work with, to be as flexible as possible. Because of the fact that we are an adult education organization and not a donor agency. I think that we are again in a unique position to understand the necessity of being flexible, because of our adult education background, and then find our normal solutions to it, vis-a-vis our funding ministry. And that is what we go for." (Leumer interview)

To sum up: from the recipient's point of view, from the perspective of the South, there seems little doubt that programme support is preferred to project support. So one very practical suggestion for improving the relationship between recipients and donors and the quality of work:

". . is to change from projects to programmes. Programmes are an alliance between a funding agency and the NGOs for work in a particular field, perhaps in a particular territory, for a long period of time, programmes of action that can ben reoriented according to changes of the situation.

In CEEAL we have that kind of relationship with one funding agency. They said: we will give you support for four years and you only need to tell us every year what you are going to do. We have to send reports, we have auditors and everything, but we have the power, in Santiago but also in the provinces, to modify what we are doing according to the changes in the situation. Sometimes we organize trips for a person to travel from one part to another, sometimes we spend it on publications, sometimes there is a stage of siege when we can't meet, and then we spend it on other things. We feel as flexible, as adaptable, as innovative as we can." (Vio Grossi interview)

Where do we go from here?

Maria Villariba:

To us, solidarity among people would be a better gauge of the kind of aid that we can get from them. Rather than just go straight into the relationship of North and South, or of the South section of the North and the North section of the South. I mean, of course we have our elites and ruling classes, but for a conference like this I don't think we have to go into a strata analysis, whether you are of the ruling class and I am of the oppressed class, and for as long as your money is channelled to my government you are not worried yourself.

I am clear that the people I meet here are friends — friends in the sense of people who have the same vision, who have the same attitude — but are operating under certain constraints, and so we need not bemoan the fact that they are not giving much to us. It is not that debate we are after; whether you give as more, or that we are not treated at par, or so on. I think that what I would like to happen, would be for people to find how the system can serve both interests, knowing the system and testing the limits of that system, as long as we work on the principle of helping others.

I guess attitudes have a certain wave-length and I would prefer to change some attitudes. There is what you might call behavioural output. For example, would people from NORAD, DANIDA, SIDA and CIDA immediately go into their policy-making meetings and say: this or this has been recommended by the NGOs and let us change that. I don't expect that right away. I think the fact they have listened, and they have also spoken, would be a sufficient gauge of the success of the meeting.

As far as the follow-up and continuity are concerned, I think that is the responsibility of many participants to make it a continuing contract. I think if people are interested in the work of other participants they will find a way to get in touch. Well, perhaps, not so with those who have decided that they don't belong. I am not saying that everybody will be happy with the outcome of the conference. I think there'll be some who'll say it was a waste of time. I can see it sometimes from their facial

expressions. But even if you don't win everybody, it is not a lost cause.

I always had this, well, it's not an old instinct but — if I see you, meet you, share a meal with you, somehow in the future, near or far, I'm still going to have something to do with you. This is always a very good handle to use whenever you go to conferences. Because sometimes people are saying: you know, I travelled all that way, I spent so much money, meeting all these people, and they are not even interested. For me, you may not have spoken much, you may not have spent specific energy on me, but I have made contact, I remember your face, I know what you look like. I may not understand how your heart functions, but I think somehow if I look you up somewhere, or sometime, you'll say hello.

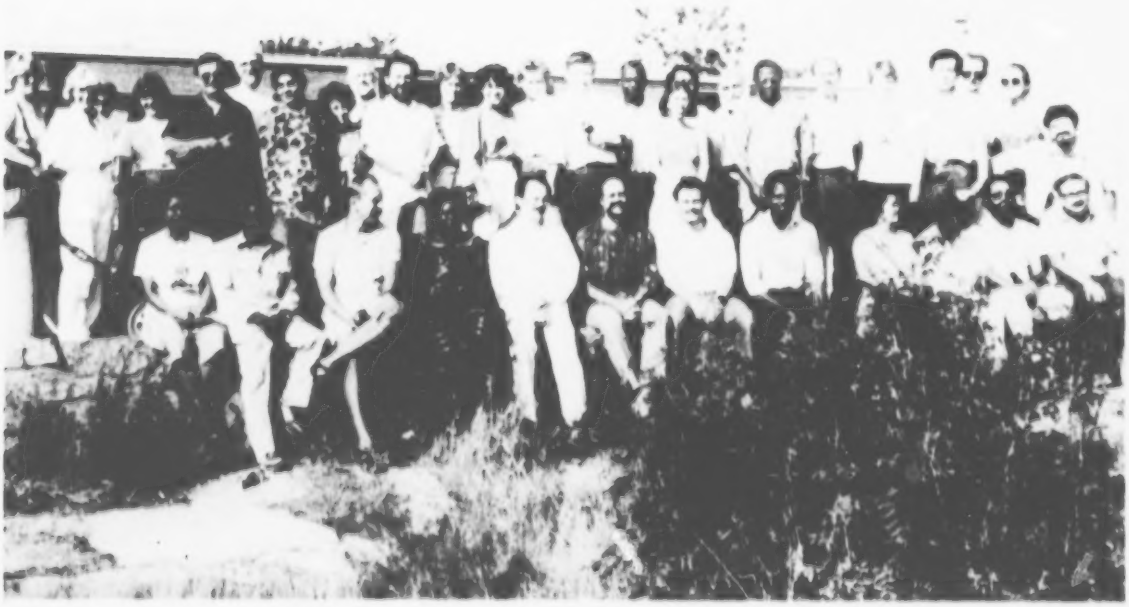
I think that's important, just being able to meet people, being able to touch them and be touched, that's something you cannot put a price tag on, you cannot quantify it, you cannot say: these are my accomplishments, I went there with several pamphlets, and I gave them to these and these, and they are going to generate more pamphlets — that's part of the game, but personnaly I'm not so keen on using that as the parameter of success or continuity.

I have a certain trust in people. If they think it is valuable, over the years something will crop up, and we can have a harvest of perhaps better adult education, or donors that are not any longer seen as donors but partners in development.

95

Rajesh Tandon:

My expectation is that we will develop a much better appreciation of each other's responsibilities and constraints. And that this would spread within the organizations we all represent, donor and recipients alike. So that next time when donors and recipients come together, particularly those working in the field of adult education, they come together on a basis of slightly enhanced understanding and mutual respect and support. Because in any case adult educators are politically, as yet, marginal people in our own context. So the amount of resources that are around in our own countries are very meagre. On top of that, if we have a relationship with other international donors which is based on lack of understanding and lack of mutual solidarity, then it further marginalizes us. I think that donor representatives working in adult education sections are themselves committed educators. It is not that they are career bureaucrats — those go to ''hard-ware'' departments, they don't go to ''soft-ware'' departments like adult education — they are themselves marginal in their donor agencies.



List of Participants

Bangladesh

Ahmed Qazi Faruque
Executive Director
Proshika Manobik Unnayan
Kendra
5/2 Iqbal Road
Mohammadpur
Dhaka

Kaniz Fatema
Bangladesh Rural Advancement
Committee
Dhaka

Canada

Remy Beaulieu
CIDA
Place da Centre
200, Duportage
Hull
K1A OG4

Budd Hall
Secretary-General
ICAE
720 Bathurst Street
Suite 500
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2R4

Yusuf Kassam
Director of Programmes
ICAE

Lynda Yanz
Coordinator of ICAE Women's
Programme
ICAE

Chile

Francisco Vio Grossi
Secretary-General
Latin American Council for
Adult Education
Casilla 6257
Santiago 22

Denmark

Preben F Gondolf
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Danida
Asiatisk Plads 2
DK-1448 Copenhagen k

Poul Erik Kandrup
Secretary-General
Danish Council for Adult
Education
Loengangstraede 37
DK-1468 Copenhagen k

Federal Republic of Germany

Wolfgang Leumer
Deputy Head
Dep. for International
Cooperation
German Adult Education
Association
Rheinallee 2
D-5300 Bonn 2

Joseph Muller
Programme Officer
Non-Formal Basic Education
German Foundation for
International Development
Hans Böckler Strasse 5
D-5300 Bonn 3

Fiji

Akanisi Leweravu
Adult Education Advisor
Ministry of Education
38 Hillhead Street
Glasgow G12 8PZ
Great Britain

Finland

Maija Berndtson
Executive Director
The Finnish Library Association
Museigatan 18 A, 5
SF-00100 Helsinki

Marja Sundberg
Utrikesministeriet
FINNIDA
Mannerheimsvägen 15
00260 Helsinki

France

Majid Rahnema
Senior Consultant
UNDP/UNITAR
Port la Galère
06590 Théoule (Alpes
Maritimes)

Great Britain

Chris Duke
Professor & Chairman
Dep. of Continuing & Adult
Education
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL

David M Mbiti
Assistant Director Education
Programme
Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
London SWIY 5 HX

John L. Dobson
Adult Education Advisor
Brittish Council
10, Spring Gardens
London SWIA 2 BN

India

Rajesh Tandon
Society for Participatory
Research in Asia
45, Sainik Farm, Khanpur
New Delhi 110 062

Kenya

Alexander Njoroge Ndiho
Assistant Director
Dep. of Adult Education
Ministry of Culture & Social
Services
P.O.Box 30117
Nairobi

Mali

Halimatou Traoré
Directrice
CFAR-UNFM
P.O.Box 1740
Bamako

Mexico

Sylvia van Dijk
Responsable de área éducacion
Reysamuni
Apdo Postal 22-095
14000 Tlalpan
Mexico 22, D.F.

Netherlands

Janny van Es-Scheffer
Coordinator Latin American
Programme
HIVOS
Beeklaan 387
2562 AZ Den Haag

Jan de Vries
Director of SVE in
representation of NOVIB
Amaliastraat 5-7
2514 JC Den Haag

Norway

Astrid Thoner
Educational Officer
Norwegian Association of Adult
Education
Box 560 Sentrum
0105 Oslo 1

Isak O Helseth
Senior Programme Officer
NORAD
Victoria Terasse 7
0251 Oslo 1

The Philippines

Maria Villariba
Centre for Women's Resources
2nd Floor Mar Santos Building
43 Roces Avenue
Quezon City, Manila

St. Lucia

Didacus Jules
CUSO Consultant
Literacy & Rural Development
NRDF
P.O.Box 1097
Castries St. Lucia W1

Sweden

Peter Engberg
Associate Secretary-General
National Swedish Federation of
Adult Education Associations
Industrigatan 4B, I
S-112 46 Stockholm

Agneta Lind
SIDA Consultant
University of Sweden
Institute of International
Education
S-106 91 Stockholm

Jan-Erik Perneman
Nordic Folk Academy
Box 1001
S-442 25 Kungälv

Gunilla Rosengart
Senior Programme Officer
SIDA
S-105 25 Stockholm

United States

Nelly P. Stromquist
Acting Associate Professor
School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Zimbabwe

Taka Mudariki
Director
ZIMFEP
Box 298
Harare

Lloyd Mapfumo
Ministry of Community
Development and Women's
Affairs
Harare

UNESCO

G. Kim
ED/LAR
1, Place de Fontenoy
75700 Paris France

Interpreter

Ulla Fredén
Brynjegatan 16
S-442 37 Kungälv
Sweden

Rapporteur

Gunnar Rydström
Barkvägen 4
S-872 00 Kramfors
Sweden

Evaluation Consultant

Ted Jackson and Associates Ltd.
Suite 712
151 Slater Street
Ottawa, Ont. K1P 5H3
Canada

Personnel

Anki Bengtsson
Secretary

Cathrine Zenkert
Secretary

National Swedish Federation of
Adult Education
Associations
Industrigatan 4B, I
S-112 46 Stockholm
Sweden

Final Report of the International Seminar on
"The Role of International Aid in Adult Education
in Developing Countries"
held in Kungälv, Sweden, June 1986

"The discussions during the last four days have highlighted the various types of roles that NGOs are playing in promotion of popular education. The context in which these roles are played requires further dissemination to our friends and colleagues in the rest of the world. The report should be widely distributed among the NGOs working in this field as well as those donors, partners, and intermediaries who are somehow interested in the entire field of adult education. There is a need to initiate and continue this dialogue that has started between different partners, particularly among those of us who are absent, from different sides of the spectrum."
(Rajesh Tandon, reporting from groups)

International Council for Adult Education